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ABSTRACT

This study is a "teaching case." It is a description of events written to help education students understand the complex, ambiguous situations which arise in rural teaching. The limitations of scientific rules and principles for teacher training are especially obvious in rural Alaska schools--where teachers who are typically Caucasian instruct children from Eskimo or Indian communities. Teachers in a culturally-different community must decide to what extent they should participate in community affairs, how they should respond to various community factions, and to what extent they should accept or attempt to alter the situations in which they find themselves. In this recounting of actual events, an experienced female teacher in rural Alaska becomes the recipient of threats and obscene phone calls. This case describes the actions the teacher took to resolve the problem, the tangle of events in which the problem was embedded, and what finally happened to the teacher. This study delineates the history of the local school since its opening in 1977. It describes the Alaska Natives in the community who were largely autonomous and protective of their native members. The Advisory School Board, staffed by local natives, exerted much authority over the school and involved itself in the personal lives of the certified school staff, who were basically outsiders. (KS)

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HARASSMENT IN LOMAVIK:

A CASE STUDY

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INTRODUCTION

Harassment in Lomavik describes what happened when an experienced female teacher, known in the community as a fine teacher, becomes the recipient of obscene telephone calls. The case describes the actions the teacher took to resolve the problem, the tangle of events in which the problem was embedded, and what finally happened to the teacher. While the author has presented the teacher and community anonymously, the events described here did occur. Regional newspapers reported the situation in detail, and letters-to-the-editor written by community people are included in an appendix.

Harassment in Lomavik is not simply a narrative, one teacher's story. Nor is it an ethnographic case study, a rich and careful description of a cultural scene.

This story is a "teaching case." It is a description of events written to help students understand the complex, ambiguous situations which arise in rural teaching. Teaching cases have long been a cornerstone of professional preparation in schools of business and law. Only recently has the field of education begun to explore their value in the preparation of teachers (Doyle, 1986; Shulman, 1987; McCarthy, 1987). In the teaching case, interpretations are left open and loose ends are not tied up. Relevant information is not known, and known information is not always not relevant. The teaching case lets red herrings swim and demands speculation from inadequate knowledge. The purpose of the case is not to establish "truth" but to prepare students for "wise action" (Christensen, 1987). Professional practice demands wise action, even where the truth is not known.

Purposes of Teaching Cases

Teaching cases are useful when the purpose of instruction is not to communicate facts, information, rules, and fixed principles but rather to develop "qualities of mind (curiosity, judgment, wisdom), qualities of person (character, sensitivity, integrity, responsibility), and the ability to apply general concepts and knowledge to specific situations" (Christensen, 1987).

As Donald Schon (1983) observes, professionals often practice in situations which demand more than the application of technical knowledge to concrete problems. Professionals typically work in situations of complexity, ambiguity, and disorder where it is not clear what goals are desirable or where desirable goals may conflict. The professional's task is not simply to solve particular problems through the application of technical knowledge. The task is also to figure out just what the problems are. Preparation for professional practice should include preparation in spotting issues and framing problems, in thinking through the consequences and risks of different courses of action, and in staying sensitive to the particulars of concrete situations.

In the field of education, the very success of recent efforts to identify a "scientific basis for teaching" -- research-based technical knowledge that teachers can apply to children and classrooms -- has brought to light the inherent limitations of scientific knowledge in resolving the subtle dilemmas of classroom life. The rules and principles derived from educational research are useful, but the technical knowledge that can be gleaned from scientific research will always be too limited and too general to encompass classroom life.

The limitations of scientific rules and principles are especially obvious in rural Alaska schools -- where teachers who are typically Caucasian instruct children from Eskimo or Indian communities. Not only must teachers decide whether research-based knowledge derived from mainstream educational situations applies to small cross-cultural classrooms. They must also think through a myriad of teaching issues beyond the classroom -- how they should live their lives in a small, culturally different community, to what extent they should participate in community affairs, how they should respond to various community factions, to what extent they should accept or attempt to alter the situations in which they find themselves.

Teaching well in small Eskimo and Indian communities requires far more than learning a body of cultural knowledge in addition to pedagogical knowledge. Anthropological research concerning Eskimo and Indian communities is similarly over-generalized, fragmentary and inexact. Rural communities, even within the same cultural region, are different from each other, and communities are changing in unpredictable ways. Different generations and particular families within the same community have different beliefs, expectations, values, and styles of communication. Teachers can expect no rules or recipes. They must learn from the situation.

A major purpose of these teaching cases is to develop students' sensitivity to the situation -- to the ambiguities and multiple realities of village teaching. We want students to feel more comfortable with uncertainty. We want them to think about other people's interpretations of a situation. We want to enlarge their repertoire of potential strategies for dealing with problems. We want them to be better able to anticipate the ramifications and risks of the actions they may choose.

Teaching cases not only help to develop cognitive capacities -- judgment and insight. The cases also offer emotional preparation for dealing with an unjust and uncertain world. Young teachers typically expect a just and certain world, a world in which good teaching is always rewarded and good teachers do not bear the legacy of a past they did not create. The cases help students become aware that these expectations are not entirely reasonable and that people like themselves can become caught in circumstances not of their making.

Representativeness of Teaching Cases and the Author's Point-of-View

Harassment in Lomavik is one of a series of teaching cases written for education students by teachers who have observed or participated in the events they describe. This case was NOT selected because it is "representative" of teaching situations in rural Alaska. It was selected because it presented in a concrete and dramatic way an especially difficult teaching situation that students would benefit from reflecting upon.

The author of this case was a member of the school staff who speaks Yup'ik and had lived in the community for several years prior to the events he describes. The case is based in part on his general knowledge of the community and in part on lengthy interviews with key informants.

In preparing these cases, we have wrestled with the vexing issue of point-of-view. The author tells the story from the perspective of the school staff -- the group of which he himself is a member. While the author tries to describe community perspectives, he is well aware that he himself is not Yup'ik. We have attempted to provide some information on community viewpoints by including a selection of letters-to-the-editor written by Yup'ik people from the community or nearby communities. The letters indicate that community perspectives were by no means uniform.

Students should discuss directly the limitations of the author's perspective. Nonetheless, they should keep in mind that they, too, will have a limited view of events -- the view of the school staff. They should consider how the situation might look to other participants in the events.

Questions To Focus Discussion of a Case

Teaching cases such as this one are intended to develop students' abilities to 1) spot issues and frame problems in an ambiguous, complex teaching situation, 2) interpret the situation from different perspectives, 3) identify crucial decision-points and possibilities for action, and 4) recognize the possible consequences of alternative actions. In stimulating such reflection, we have found useful the following general kinds of questions. Most have been culled from the Instructor's Guide to Teaching and the Case Method (Christensen, Hansen, and Moore, 1987) and from discussions about case method teaching (Christensen, 1987).

These questions are:

1. What are the central issues in this situation? Which are most urgent? Which are most critical?

2. What, if anything, should anyone do? Who? When? How? Why do you think so?

3. What did the teacher actually do? With what results? At what risk? With what potential long-term consequences?

4. How does this situation appear to other participants -- such as the students, superintendent, parents, village council? Why do you think so?

5. How did this situation develop? What, if anything, might alter the basic conditions which created the present difficulties?

6. What, if anything, have you learned from this case?

In teaching a case, we typically ask students to prepare for class discussion by writing a two-page paper a) outlining what they see as the main issues in the situation, b) describing the actions the teacher took, and c) appraising the teacher's actions. We begin the class by asking each student to identify the most important issues of the case and we list the issues on the chalkboard. We choose as a starting point for discussion an issue many students have identified as key to understanding the case. After the case discussion, we ask students to write another short paper on what they now see as the fundamental issues of the case, what actions they would have advised the teacher to take, and what they have learned or come to appreciate as a result of the case discussion.

Issues Raised in Harassment in Lomavik

Since an important goal of case discussion is to develop students' abilities to spot issues, we do not want to identify in this introduction the crucial issues in this case. We point out only that much profitable discussion centers around the issue of Native sovereignty and the community's ability to control how the school operates and how teachers behave. Particularly rich for discussion purposes is the contrast in the community's ability to get rid of disliked teachers and the school's ability to get rid of local teacher aides.

Harassment in Lomavik does not unfold in simple chronological fashion. Its disjointed sections reflect the disjointed unfolding of situations in everyday life. Appendices describe the school board meeting at which events came to a climax and offer the interpretations and strategies of the district superintendent and also the author of the case. It may be useful to ask students to delay reading these appendices until after initial discussion of the case.

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I. THE TELEPHONE CALLS*

No one was more impressed than Cindy Dalzell herself with the irony of what was happening to her -- and the loneliness. She had come as a teacher to the Alaskan bush in what she would one day describe as "a search for a simpler life." In 1980, fresh out of college, she had been offered jobs in urban areas, but she had no taste for the traffic and the confusion and the pervasive fear of crime that urban living implied for her. Now, in her sixth year in the bush, the days were peaceful enough, but sometimes in the night she literally feared for her life.

The telephone calls had begun in August of 1985, almost as soon as she had returned from her summer vacation in the Lower 48. The person (or persons) who made the calls wanted sex, and this in itself was nothing new: For as long as she had been working in Lomavik, she had been fending off the advances of Eskimo men, most of them young and single, but some of them older, some of them married. Usually these advances came cloaked in teasing, and in a similarly teasing manner Cindy refused them, pretending along with her interlocutor that the proposal was nothing more than a joke. Occasionally, however -- always with the younger men -- the proposals were direct and edged with violence. Once or twice a man had laid unfriendly hands on her, and she had been very much afraid. Now she was more careful about whom she let into her house, and she took care to avoid situations where she might be alone at school with one of the villagers.

But the telephone was a new avenue for these advances. For many years people in Lomavik had used CB radios for the purpose of house-to-house communication, and of course the CB's public channels were too indiscreet to convey anything of a personal nature. Household telephones were not installed in the village until the spring of 1984, and during that subsequent school year Cindy had sometimes received proposals over the phone. The timing of these proposals told her something about how closely she was observed: Almost invariably they came during times when David Youngren -- her companion and fellow teacher -- was elsewhere, and Cindy was alone. But these too could be painlessly turned aside, and usually were nothing more than an annoyance.

The calls that began that August, however, were something different entirely. Occasionally the voice on the other end would ask -- nervously, Cindy thought -- if David were there. Sometimes she thought the voice was always the same, and sometimes she suspected two or three different voices were making the calls. But always the voice was distorted, breathy, and the calls themselves were not just proposals, but obscenities, bristling with hostility. They came at any time, but usually between three and six

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* All names and identifying information have been changed. The situation and its details have been reported extensively in regional and statewide newspapers.

in the morning. If Cindy had to guess who was behind them, she might have suggested Matthew Alexie, the former pastor's son, who had made advances to her earlier in the month and was generally regarded by other people in the village with suspicion. But really she didn't know: The voice or voices seemed like something out of a Hollywood horror film, and their persistence -- along with the way David was suddenly and mysteriously drawing away from her, though he remained concerned about her safety -- had plunged her into a nightmare far worse than anything she had conceived in her flight from the cities, where at least the police were just a few moments away.

In September Cindy reported the calls to Andrew Michael, Lomavik's newly-hired Village Police Safety Officer. Andrew had graduated from high school four years before and was the most recent in a long line of Lomavik residents to hold the safety officer's position. Andrew listened carefully, promised to keep an eye on Cindy's house and to try to discover who was making the calls, and also notified the Alaska State Police in Candle Landing that the calls were taking place. Cindy was pleased by Andrew's sympathetic response, but was disturbed by the fact that the safety officer had no phone in his house, and was therefore unavailable in the sort of emergency she feared. She still had her CB radio, but CBs had fallen largely into disuse in Lomavik since the arrival of phones, and in any event it was unlikely that she would have been able to reach anybody on the CB at four or five A.M. She kept her own phone by her bedside, and David had instructed her to call him first in the event of trouble.

After her talk with Andrew, Cindy informed Cullen Beyer, the principal of the Lomavik School, of her situation. Cullen had worked as a teacher and a principal-teacher for four years in a village near the big town of Candle Landing, but had finally wearied of the alcoholism afflicting so many of the families in that community. Like Cindy, he had come to Lomavik in search of peace and stability, was now entering his second year there, and enjoyed a reputation -- based on his success under difficult circumstances elsewhere -- as one of the Old Russian River District's most sensitive and capable young administrators.

Cullen was startled to hear Cindy's news, and very disturbed. His first instinct was to inform the village's Advisory School Board (ASB), but then decided that since this was more a civil than an educational issue, then more properly Lomavik's village council should be told. Cindy consented to this, but with considerable pessimism; she didn't tell Cullen that at one time or another a number of present village council members had made advances towards her, some very recently. Later that week Cullen visited at the house of Albert Mark, the recently-elected president of the village council. "Maybe that safety officer should take care of this," suggested Albert.

By the end of September Cindy felt herself to be in more danger than ever before. Andrew had not succeeded in stemming the calls, and then had been called away to Sitka for training and education. For the next six weeks Lomavik would not even have a safety officer. Tom and Cara

Bellinger, who had come to Lomavik with Cindy in 1980, suggested that for safety's sake their friend move in with them, but Cindy knew that the Bellinger's little house was too small as it was, cramped with Tom and Cara and their two children, and reluctantly she refused. Finally, in increasing desperation -- and at the urging of David, who had already made complaints to the troopers about the phone calls -- Cindy herself called the state police in Candle Landing, and, in the middle of October, a pair of officers flew into the village. They attached an electronic tap to Cindy's phone line for the purpose of recording and tracing the calls, and then warned her of the necessity of strict confidentiality regarding both the tap and any subsequent investigation.

Both the troopers and Cindy believed that the tap would bring this affair to a swift conclusion, but the fluid nature of Yup'ik village society made it very difficult to identify any specific suspect. In a community such as Lomavik people visit freely and frequently from house to house, and unmarried people in particular will be active in their social activity, keep late hours, and sleep wherever the inclination happens upon them. The troopers were succeeding in taping the calls -- which were every bit as offensive as Cindy had described them -- and also in tracing them, but they were dismayed to find that the calls came from dozens of different houses.

During the next two months the troopers made frequent visits to the village for the purposes of questioning. They visited the house of Sam John, who was now the pastor of Lomavik's Moravian Church; they visited Adam George, the president of the Advisory School Board; they visited Jimmy Nicolai, an influential and respected elder; they visited a great number of other households in the village. In none of these instances were the police straightforward as to what they precisely sought. From the troopers' questions people were able to infer that they had come on Cindy Dalzell's account, but they were not able to infer the complaint. Characteristically, none of these Yup'ik Eskimo people were so direct as to question Cindy herself about the investigation, and even if someone had, Cindy would not have been able to reply frankly because of the troopers' insistence on confidentiality. One immediate result of this, however, -- or so Cindy surmised -- was Matthew Alexie's sudden decision to move to Candle Landing, where the rest of his family had moved the year before.

But still the calls didn't stop. December was notable in two regards: first, Cindy -- and indeed everybody in Lomavik -- was stunned by David Youngren's unexpected marriage to Rita Nick, a young woman from neighboring Crow Village. The marriage took place over Christmas vacation in Anchorage, and after that vacation David returned to Lomavik alone and Rita went back to Fairbanks, where she intended to finish her undergraduate studies at the collage. And second, Cindy seemed to notice a new voice prominent among her terrible phone calls. This caller no longer inquired if David was there, and along with its obscenities the voice threatened outright violence. "I'm coming over," Cindy was told one

night. "You let me in. If you don't, I'll cut your wires, and then I'll come in through the wall, and then I'll fuck you with a knife."

Long ago Cindy had borrowed a shotgun from David, and now she was careful to keep this loaded and by the side of her bed. When David returned from Anchorage, he strengthened the entryway door on the house that Cindy rented from the village council, and also installed a peep-hole. "I don't know why he put in that peep-hole," Cindy admitted. "I knew I'd be too scared to go out there and look."

One night in January Cindy indeed was too scared to go look. The caller had awakened her at three A.M., and Cindy had threatened to shoot him if he came over. Later she heard the sound of somebody prying at the door outside, and -- after calling David -- Cindy stood terrified, the gun shaking in her hands, her heart failing as she listened to the wood splintering in her doorframe. David lived only a few hundred yards away, and at his approach the assailant fled, leaving a crowbar and a large carving knife behind. Later Cindy found herself the most profoundly frightened by what she was prepared to do. "I would have shot him," she said soberly. "I probably would have killed him."

There was more. One night she stood in terror from the sound of prying from the roof; mysteriously this stopped, for no reason that Cindy could discern, though she could see the damage the next day. On another occasion, returning to Lomavik after a weekend in Candle Landing, she found one wall of her house jimmied away from the frame and the wires of her phone cut.

By February the state troopers could see that a majority of the calls were now coming form one particular house, and by the end of March enough evidence had been gathered to offer a reasonable chance of conviction. The troopers flew into Lomavik and arrested Bobby George, a 19-year-old high school dropout who had no prior criminal record and who was also the only son of Adam George, the present ASB chairman.

Far from being over, however, Cindy's nightmare now simply entered a different phase: less deadly, of course, but nonetheless deeply wounding. She had learned of this new trouble from Cullen a few weeks before Bobby's arrest, and Cullen in turn had heard from Andrew Michael. Andrew said he had been encouraged to sign a petition, and it was only after he had done so that he understood entirely what the petition stood for. The document was addressed to Roger Jarman, the superintendent of the Old Russian River School District, and Andrew said that it demanded -- on ground of "disrespect," he added -- the abrupt and immediate removal of certified teachers Cindy Dalzell and David Youngren from the community of Lomavik.

II. THE VILLAGE

Lomavik is a Yup'ik Eskimo village of 250 set atop a grassy knoll near the shores of the Bering Sea. The community is a very new one, having come into existence in the mid-sixties when Walter Fullmoon -- prompted by a combination of seasonal flooding and unspecified philosophical differences with some of his neighbors -- moved his house from Crow Village to this small patch of higher ground twenty miles to the north. During that following winter a number of others followed suit, jacking their houses onto logs and trundling them across the intervening ice behind various combinations of heavy machinery, snow machines, and dogs. Within a decade the new village had grown nearly as large as its parent community.

The social atmosphere of the two villages is very similar. Like Crow Village, Lomavik is predominantly Moravian in religious persuasion, though there is also a small Russian Orthodox constituency. Moravianism is a severe and conservative brand of Protestantism; its pastors in Alaska fiercely preach the sinfulness of indulgences such as drinking, card-playing, and dancing -- whether in its traditional Eskimo form or otherwise -- and certainly this discipline has helped to keep both communities remarkably free of alcohol. The church in both villages, moreover, has retained an unchallenged social primacy: On no account are school activities, basketball games, or any other organized pursuits allowed to schedule events simultaneously with church events, even if the religious activity involves only a small group of adults.

Despite these similarities, however, -- and despite the social traffic and family ties between the two communities -- the residents of Crow Village still broadly conceive of Lomavik as a village composed of outcasts, its members too individualistic and unruly to accept the restraints of an appropriately ordered social life. Traditionally teachers who have lived in Lomavik have found this view of their peaceful and pious community amusing; whatever the case, it may be fair to surmise that those who chose to leave Crow Village were at least not accorded the influence they desired in the management of village affairs.

The economy of Lomavik remains one of primarily subsistence hunting and fishing. May through September are months of frantic activity -- egg gathering and seal hunting in the spring, then salmon fishing on the Old Russian River through the summer, and finally berry picking, bird hunting, and walrus hunting in the fall. The winter months, when school is in session, are comparatively idle. At certain times ptarmigan flock in the nearby hills, occasionally foxes and hares are pursued on snow machines, some people set fish traps underneath the river ice, and a very few others tend trap lines.

But only a few people in Lomavik own commercial fishing permits, and even in the summer cash in hard to come by. The school is the only significant employer in the village, and those households without a member on the school staff depend heavily on public assistance, food stamps, and

service in the National Guard. There is little turnover in the school's classified -- i.e., non-professional -- positions, and any postings of a job opening usually result in a high number of applications, even though work at the school limits participation in the spring and fall subsistence seasons.

Because of this region's particular remoteness, and because of the so far limited incursions of the cash economy, the traditional forms and patterns of Yup'ik social life have retained an unusual vitality in Lomavik and in surrounding villages in the 150 years since initial white contact. Central Yup'ik remains very much the dominant language, and a number of the village elders speak no English whatsoever. Many items of traditional dress persist -- such as "qaspeqs," a thin, hooded parka-cover worn by the women -- though fur coats and boots are usually saved now for ceremonial occasions. Shamanism, of course, has been more or less quenched by the Moravian missionaries, but certain of its features persist on an "underground" sort of basis, and some other characteristics of the pre-Christian religious festivals have been seamlessly incorporated into current church rallies and songfests. Similarly the "qasgiq" -- that central community house where the men fraternized, bathed, and instructed the boys in their crafts and folklore -- is no more, but men and women still occupy rigidly distinct social and economic spheres. The society and certain educational aspects of the "qasgiq" are perpetuated in Lomavik's household "maqivit," or steamhouses.

In these "maqivit," as well as out in the tundra and on the ocean and in the houses themselves, the Yup'ik values honed by centuries of close and sometimes difficulty living are conveyed: self-control, humility, cooperativeness, deference to elders, loyalty to family, an obligation to share, and avoidance of open personal conflict. Of course the school is also now conceded a large role in the lives of the young, though older parents in particular are sometimes uneasy about the school's demands upon the time of their children, and how it seems to limit the time these children might spend within traditional contexts and economic pursuits. But these same parents concede at least that things are much better than they were less than a decade ago, when older students were flown away to Candle Landing, Wrangell, Sitka, or even schools in the Lower 48 for secondary education.

Within this same decade, however, a number of cracks have appeared in Lomavik's isolation from the world at large. The planes from Candle Landing that once disappeared for weeks on end because traffic was slight, weather marginal, or the village's mud runway too slippery, are now guided by electronic navigation instruments to Lomavik's new gravel runway three, four, or five times daily. Telephones now exist in most households, and the same satellite that channels this communication also beams two television signals to the village: Learn Alaska, an educational channel, and the Rural Alaska Television Network (RATNET), a tape-delayed conglomeration of public and commercial programming.

Similarly Lomavik's economic life has seen a recent acceleration in its rate of change. Within recent years the tools of subsistence food gathering and items of daily apparel have given way almost entirely to industrial products available only for cash. With the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971, all of Lomavik's residents living at that time have become shareholders in both local and regional corporate enterprises; this involves them -- at least indirectly -- in the marketplace of the world at large and provides an additional entrance for processed foods and consumer goods by means of the corporation store that Lomavik opened in 1974. The cash economy was given an additional boost with the construction of a new school building in 1977 and the accompanying expansion of the school staff: This provided approximately a dozen new jobs in Lomavik, and the families that benefit most directly from these jobs will now frequently order goods from mail-order catalogues, or take trips to Candle Landing or Anchorage for the purpose of buying special consumer items.

The outside world has drawn considerably closer in recent years, and its increasing proximity has served to emphasize -- above all -- the particular distinctiveness of Lomavik and its way of life. Its residents are entirely aware of their growing reliance on industrial goods, the gradual extinction of traditional practices and technologies, and the rising influence of national (and international) political and economic affairs over their lives. The subsistence economy and their traditional lifestyle, however, may not lightly be abandoned: Prospects of any other sort of economic development are dim, and -- in either event -- the pleasures of subsistence hunting and fishing and certain age-old obligations of food-exchange involving the fish and the meat so gathered are simply too deeply imbedded in the Eskimo spirit to be discarded without the most wrenching dislocation. As the technologies of communication and travel improve, however, and as the state's urban population swells and the numbers and availability of Alaska's wildlife decline, the "Lomavigmiut" -- the people of Lomavik -- become increasingly more sensitive to the frailty of their world today; in response they cling all the more tenaciously to those same tested values that historically have provided the mortar holding that world together.

III. THE SCHOOL AND THE SCHOOL DISTRICT

By the time Lomavik was established in the mid-sixties, the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was already in the process of ceding to the state the responsibility for providing educational services to rural Alaska. Therefore, at a time when village elementary schools in Crow Village and elsewhere were still commonly under the administration of the BIA, Lomavik's first school was run under the aegis of Alaska's State Operated Schools (SOS). As in Crow Village, however, high school students in Lomavik were obliged to travel out to federal boarding schools elsewhere in Alaska or the Lower 48.

SOS was to disappear, however, in the broad and turbulent wake of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), which prompted the state to break its rural areas into boroughs and establish separate Regional Education Attendance Areas (REAAs) within these boundaries. Lomavik thus became a member of the REAA occupied by the Old Russian River School District, whose headquarters were in Candle Landing.

Also in the wake of ANCSA trailed Molly Hootch, the Emmonak high school student whose name appeared first in a class-action lawsuit filed to obtain local secondary programs for the rural villages. In 1976 this suit was settled with a consent decree that resulted in the construction of 110 village high schools throughout Alaska, and in Old Russian River alone twenty of these facilities were to be built in the late seventies and early eighties. Lomavik was chosen as the site for one of the very first of these schools in the district, first because the parents of that village were particularly outspoken in their desire for a home-based program (and indeed the names of some Lomavik students had been entered in the Hootch suit), and second -- there being no BIA grade school in the village -- district planners realized that a K-12 facility could be built immediately that would serve the needs of the village for years to come.

This new building opened in 1977, at a time when the new district itself was plagued by a crippling rate of teacher turnover and beset by recalcitrant problems in the areas of management, communications, supply, and teacher housing. But Lomavik's spacious 1.2 million dollar facility -- and particularly its three-quarter-sized gym -- sent an electric charge of excitement through the village it was about to serve. Not only would this building allow the village's older students to return home from Candle Landing, but it would accomplish a number of other things as well. As additionally provided in the consent decree, it would begin an era of broad local input into the form and content of their children's education; it would provide for a number of additional jobs and a surge of cash into the community; its gym would allow substantial winter recreation for both students and adults; and finally -- particularly in respect to this dazzling gym -- the new school, in a sense, legitimized this almost equally new community. At that time none of the older, more established villages surrounding Lomavik boasted anything comparable, and the school immediately became an important social and recreational center for the residents of these other villages as well. Over the next few years, in fact, the success of Lomavik's high school and "city-league" basketball teams would result, at least for a time, in making the little village among the most socially prominent communities in the region.

The village was fortunate not only in its school facility, however; it was also fortunate in the cadre of capable young teachers that arrived to staff the school in 1977. These were assembled by Gary Gelvin, the school's principal-teacher, and Gary -- along with his wife Barbara -- had first come to Lomavik in 1970 as a teacher in the SOS grade school. Over the succeeding years the Gelvins' co-teachers usually elected not to renew their contracts -- discouraged variously by Lomavik's isolation, harsh living conditions, cultural strangeness, etc. -- while the Gelvins

resolutely stayed on. Each year brought new arrivals, and initially 1977 was unusual only in the number of new arrivals: six new teachers, only one with any previous experience in Alaska, and four with no previous experience at all.

That following year the Gelvins chose to leave, but this time the staff largely stayed on, and such teachers as David Youngren and Allan and Nancy Peverall would form the core of a group that would resist substantial turnover at least until 1984. Partly because of this stability -- especially in conjunction with the Gelvins' long tenure -- and partly because of the skills of both the Gelvins and their successors, the Lomavik School was provided very early with a continuity in respect to both professional personnel and educational programs unusual among Old Russian River's village schools. And though the Lomavik School's first one or two years were occasionally difficult as the young staff gathered experience, ensuing years witnessed the consolidation of the school program into one whose academic success and community support conferred upon the school a reputation for excellence that it enjoyed throughout the Old Russian River School District. Allan Peverall, who came to Lomavik as a secondary English teacher and then succeeded Mary Ann Carter as principal-teacher in the spring of 1980, sees the 1980-81 school year as the year in which the school's program truly began to jell:

> Mary Ann had gotten us off to a terrific start in 1979, because she had the experience of all those years in Nogamiut -- another village in the district -- but then she took sick and had to leave, and we sort of milled around in confusion for the rest of that school year. Then three teachers left at the end of that year, and we added a position, so that allowed us to bring in the Bellingers, Cindy Dalzell, and Ian Hadley, and all of these people were just excellent teachers, who of course could break in with people who'd already been in Lomavik for a number of years. For the first time there weren't any weak links in the teaching staff, and by then some of us had been there long enough to be able to respond to what the village itself wanted from the school. That's when we really started to roll, I think.

When asked what sort of programmatic changes accompanied the arrival of these new staff-members, Peverall responds:

> Well, I was entering my first full year as an administrator, and I didn't really feel like I knew much about what I was doing. And partly for that reason, and partly for the respect I entertained for their own experience, I decided to lean very heavily on the ASB for direction in the management of the school. And the chief direction they provided in 1980 was to strengthen and diversify the school's Native culture course-offerings. So within a year or two we had courses in hunting and trapping, skin-sewing, kayak-construction, a number of other Native arts, and also had made a semester of Yup'ik a secondary graduation requirement. At the same time I was beginning to

> develop a few modest skills of my own in Yup'ik, and I think it pleased people -- elders particularly -- to have an administrator at the school to whom they could speak in their own language; and of course, the more I learned of the language, the more I learned about Yup'ik learning-styles and values. But I think the chief value of my bumbling sort of Yup'ik was symbolic. Then in 1981 Cara Bellinger suggested bi-weekly staff meetings that would involve the associate teachers and teacher aides, who previously hadn't had much of a voice in staff decisions; we could only pay these people until 3:30 each day, so we had to send the kids home a little early on meeting days, but I think our programs really benefited from that input. Another thing we did -- with the approval of the ASB -- was to become a little more stringent in our expectations regarding attendance, homework, and academic expectations. Previously they'd been high; we raised them a little higher. And finally, the staff as a whole very quickly developed an 'esprit de corps' that tended to reinforce itself. We didn't always get along -- in fact, some members developed some very bitter personality conflicts -- but our skills largely complemented each other, we were consistent in our dealings with the kids, and we all shared a sense of pride that was strengthened every time we had a visitor from the district office, or some other agency, who commented on how impressed they were with how well our school seemed to be working. And we very commonly received comments like that.

Roger Jarman, a former Old Russian principal-teacher who became district superintendent in 1982, was also an admirer of the Lomavik School during this time:

> There were a number of conditions in effect at Lomavik during these years that served to make the school unusually successful, I think. One of these was a good bilingual program that helped to support their kids as soon as they entered in kindergarten; not all of our sites had the benefit of that. Another was that wonderful elementary program of David Youngren's. He's one of the best elementary teachers I've ever seen, and Cullen and Allan and the other principals we've had there have been similarly high on him. Then there was the cohesiveness and stability of the whole staff there, and their good fortune in having people there trained in a number of different disciplines. And finally, there was a long history of being interactive with the community. I think the village really felt they had a stake in the school, and there was a general sense of partnership and teamwork.

In 1981 -- as provided in the "Hootch" decree -- Old Russian River implemented an annual school evaluation process performed by residents of the district communities themselves, and the Lomavik School's evaluations were strongly and consistently positive. Symptomatic also of this "partnership" described by Jarman were Lomavik's exceptionally high rate of student attendance, low incidence of drop-outs, and generally rising

standardized test scores. In 1984 Jack McMichael, an experienced teacher, would serve as a substitute in the school for a teacher on maternity leave, and in 1986 McMichael would write an assessment of his stay to a regional newspaper that also paid tribute to the air of coordinated effort and mutual support that prevailed throughout the program: "I...had the pleasure of spending a month in Lomavik two winters ago, and can say unequivocally that the school at that time -- thanks to the community, students, staff -- was the best village school I'd ever visited."(1)

The conditions under which Lomavik's certified staff lived and worked, however, remained almost as difficult as those that beset SOS's teachers in the early seventies. The village remained very isolated, and although in their classrooms Old Russian River teachers had a wealth of equipment and supplies at their behest, the dual tasks of both teaching and conducting a social life across a considerable distance in cultural perspective remained both difficult and enervating. Housing required a particular sort of adaptability: The school district had taken over a relatively spacious duplex apartment from SOS, but the majority of the staff was required to negotiate housing for themselves from among those few houses in Lomavik customarily left empty. Naturally such houses were the smallest and the flimsiest in the village -- and any house in Lomavik lacked running water -- but at least the rents charged by their owners were inexpensive, and at least for a time the school itself was able to brighten this situation by quietly providing electricity and the paid delivery of chopped ice (for water) to the rented buildings. In 1983, however, budget reductions at school required Allan Peverall to eliminate these modest services.

Nonetheless, these difficulties did little to compromise the general enthusiasm shared among these teachers for their students and their community. "The kids were wonderful," said science teacher Nancy Peverall. "They were always very eager to please, and a lot of fun to work with. And of course the parents were friendly and hospitable from the very beginning. I went into the classroom with high expectations, and I demanded quite a bit from those kids. I don't think parents in general had the background to really understand what went on in my classroom, but I always felt like I had their support and their trust all the same. This was a nice feeling, and I was always very happy in Lomavik."

In fact, members of the certified staff were often amused to hear visitors from other villages teasingly describe their neighbors as wild, basketball-crazy heathens. "People were always kind to us, and made us feel welcome," Nancy continued. "It was a quiet place, and we always felt lucky that drinking was so strictly discouraged. So there was a good social atmosphere. Sometimes I got a little nervous on nights when Allan was gone, and a couple of times I did get bothered a little bit, but never seriously, though I certainly was frightened at the time. But that seemed to stop after a while. On the whole, we felt that we'd stumbled on to the best village in which to live and work in the whole district."

During these same years that the Lomavik School's educational program was being firmly established in the village, the Old Russian River School District as a whole was emerging from the organized chaos of its first few years. In the early eighties teacher turnover all over the district declined significantly, though very few sites nonetheless were as stable on a year-to-year basis as Lomavik. Comfortable teacher housing units were being constructed in a number of villages, but not as yet in Lomavik, since most teachers at that time echoed the sentiments of math teacher Tom Bellinger: "Our house is all right, I guess, and I like living right in there in the community." Also, the district began to professionalize its management, requiring administrative certificates of principal-teachers at its larger village schools, and Allan Peverall was among the first to be ushered to this "career ladder."

Two other district events were of import to Lomavik. First, in the early eighties Old Russian River revised its strategy on the development of Yup'ik certified teachers from its local population base. Initially it was hoped that the district's "associate teachers" -- Yup'ik men or women hired usually with just a high school diploma to teach the district's elementary bilingual curricula -- might earn college diplomas and teacher certification via intensive weekend courses offered at intervals through the year at Candle Landing's community college. At best this would be a slow process, and in fact the logistics of travel and conflict with other activities slowed many such teachers' rates of progress to a glacial crawl. Finally the school district discontinued this program and instead encouraged its associate teachers to take leaves-of-absence and attend college full-time in Fairbanks or elsewhere. Second, Old Russian River resolved to generally enlarge the role played by local Advisory School Boards (ASBs) in the management of village schools. Towards that end a series of workshops was instituted designed to educate village school board members in the content of district policies and the extent and limits of local ASB power.

The school district remained essentially baffled, however, by the persistent and admitted problem of how to prepare its certified teachers for the exigencies of life in the bush. The great majority of its new hires continued to be teachers from out of state, and with only five days on their contracts set aside for in-service, and a number of these necessary as on-site work days, the district was never able to provide anything but the most superficial introduction to the region's indigenous culture. As in 1977, these new teachers were dispatched into the bush with only the vaguest notion as to how this culture would govern their lives and their work, and were largely left to their own devices to discover its unspoken assumptions.

IV. THE ADVISORY SCHOOL BOARD

A. Powers --

The mere presence of Advisory School Boards in the villages of the Old Russian River School District in the seventies and eighties represented an important concession to the principle of local control. By then such villages had come a long way from the days first of the Christian missionaries, and then the federal government, who shared a conviction that the removal of Eskimo children from their parents into distant, centralized schools was not only economically expedient, but would also hasten their assimilation into either the Christian fold or the American mainstream.

The roots of this change may be traced back as far as the liberal national temper of the sixties, a time in which minority cultures came to be perceived as resources, and a social climate was prepared that was receptive to such sallies as the "Hootch" suit. The negotiation of ANCSA had certainly served to sharpen the political and legal expertise of Alaska's Native community, and certainly that hotly contested process had also increased Native awareness of not only the distinctiveness, but also the vulnerability, of their cultures. Therefore, Native leaders argued fiercely for greater influence over their children's education, and as a result, over a process of two decades, the schools slowly came home, and slowly the local communities assumed a voice in their management.

The REAA boards -- in Lomavik's region this would become the Old Russian River district board -- were from their very inception granted considerable authority by the state. These were charged to hire a superintendent, to approve the employment of all other professional personnel, to establish salaries, to provide an educational program, to devise procedures for the selection of curricula, and to develop governing educational policies. The membership of these regional boards, however, is considerably smaller than the number of communities they represent. Old Russian River's twenty communities, for example, are represented by nine members on its board. Therefore the board's members are elected at-large, and a village such as Lomavik does not necessarily boast direct representation on this board.

To remedy this problem, the state authorizes -- though it does not require -- REAA boards to establish village school boards that may act in an advisory capacity in their local schools. Initially these were called Community School Committees (CSCs), but since this term seemed to create confusion about the actual extent of their power -- which initially was by no means comparable within their jurisdiction to that of the district board -- their title was soon changed to Advisory School Boards (ASBs). Gary Gelvin recalls the early days of the CSC in Lomavik:

> As I remember, the CSC -- and later the ASB -- really had no genuine authority. They couldn't make policy. They couldn't hire or fire. The CSC was more of a token organization than

> anything else. I think in actuality they had more power in Lomavik, though, because we chose to have it that way. Each year, for example, Barbara and I would go before the school committee and we'd say we'd like to come back next year, okay? They didn't have real authority to say we couldn't, but we liked to have their approval. And in hiring classified staff, I'd review the applications and do the interviewing, and then I'd make a recommendation. But I'd let the committee make the final choice, and their final choice wasn't always the guy I recommended. And of course the committee insisted that there be no gym activities during church services. I don't really think they had the authority to do that, but we sort of conceded that authority by mutual agreement.

During the next ten years, however, many of these sorts of "mutual agreements" were formalized into general district policy. By 1986 local ASBs were officially empowered to develop their own site budgets, plan various local educational programs, develop local policies in supplement of district policies, and hire and fire their site administrators, whether these were principals or principal-teachers. But still they do not genuinely entertain the power to hire and fire in respect either to classified staff or certified teachers, and in this way "advisory" remains a legitimate qualification.

In Lomavik, however, the procedure that Gary Gelvin had initiated for classified hiring continued to be informally observed. Allan Peverall, site administrator from 1980 to 1984, also normally left the final decision to the ASB:

> I respected their judgment, and I certainly appreciated their help in that kind of hiring. Occasionally I had doubts about the appropriateness of the board's criteria. Once we had to choose between Jeremy Ayaluk and Julie Friday for an aide's position. I wanted Julie because she had a better school record, and they wanted Jeremy because his family needed the money more. Finally we postponed the decision to the next meeting. But then we didn't get quorum, and I needed an aide, so I just hired Julie on my own, and she did all right. But later we hired Jeremy for another aide's position, and he was fabulous. It occurred to me that I should have listened to the board in the first place. But that was the only time I had any reservations about their choice.

Gary Gelvin reports a similar incident in 1977, when Jerry Michael failed to appear for a scheduled interview. Gary therefore recommended someone else for the job, the board insisted on Jerry Michael, and Jerry subsequently proved himself an outstanding aide in David Youngren's elementary classroom.

But during these same years board efforts to initiate the firing of classified or certified personnel were blunted and turned aside by Peverall and previous site administrators. Says Peverall:

> People were frequently coming up to me with complaints about David Youngren, and sometimes the board would suggest that David shouldn't be re-hired next year. But David was just a superb classroom teacher, and no one ever had any complaints about his teaching. These were all more or less personal gripes. I just explained that I evaluated David on the basis of his professional practice, which was excellent, and then usually Joe [King, ASB president at that time] said it was time to move on to the next topic. And then on one occasion Joe himself came up to me in August and said that Isaac Fox [at the time a teacher aide] had gotten drunk over the summer and gotten into the knife fight with Jerry Michael. He said Isaac should be fired. Well, I guess Jerry had been drunk too, but Joe just didn't care much for Isaac. Anyway, it was like the Youngren situation, and I replied that what Isaac did on his own time was his own business, and I didn't believe the classified personnel rules would support firing an aide for conduct over the summer. And Joe seemed satisfied with that. And I did recommend to Isaac that he'd better watch his step.

Between 1977 and 1984, and as perceived by the site administrator, there were four instances of unsatisfactory job performance among the classified personnel, and one instance among the certified. In 1978 Gary Gelvin arranged for an insubordinate "associate teacher" (the term refers to a non-certified teacher in charge of his own classroom, as opposed to a teacher aide, who merely assists in the classroom of a certified or associate teacher) to be laid off in response to a decline in elementary enrollment. This associate teacher was necessarily re-hired, however (though in the capacity of an aide) when enrollment subsequently recovered. In light of this, succeeding principals took care to privately urge parties guilty of poor teaching performance, excessive absenteeism, or the theft of school supplies to submit their resignations, and in all instances the parties were agreeable to this.

B. Members and Issues --

During the fifteen-year history of schooling in Lomavik, no member of the ASB was equal in tenure and influence to Joe King. Owner of the Lomavik Trading Company general store, which was Lomavik's first store, Joe was a self-educated businessman who was careful with a dollar and often criticized by his neighbors for being "stingy." He spoke only the roughest English and usually had little to say in either language at public meetings. Nonetheless he was continually re-elected to seats on both the ASB and the village council, and -- whether he occupied the seat of ASB president or not -- it was usually Joe's word that decided at these meetings how lengthily a particular issue might be discussed and what the ultimate decision might be.

During the years of Joe's service on the board, the ASB had intervened a number of times in problems involving a certified teacher's situation either within the community or the district. In 1978 the board attempted to mediate a rental dispute between David Youngren and Jimmy Nicolai, David's landlord; though the board was unable to resolve the problem, members of the certified staff confessed themselves impressed with the ASB's impartiality. In 1981 the board became concerned that the district's determination to place a certified administrator in Lomavik and three other sites would result in the forced removal of Allan Peverall. The ASB met jointly with the village council in a meeting attended by 130 residents to draft a petition demanding Allan's retention; subsequently Allan and three other principal-teachers in other villages were placed on career ladders and allowed to remain in their positions, though it is not known what influence the Lomavik petition had on this decision. In 1983 Ian Hadley, the secondary English teacher, termed a villager who had broken into his house for alcohol a "dead duck" if he approached the house again; this was interpreted by Ian's neighbors as a literal death threat, and Ian was called before the ASB, where the figurative nature of the expression was explained and the crisis defused.

A crisis involving the school's athletic program occurred during the winter of 1982-83, when Simeon Ayaluk, a star student basketball player, became drunk during a school trip to Candle Landing. Allan Peverall submitted the matter to the ASB, which -- after hearing angry testimony from the boy's parents blaming their son's drunkenness on the coach's neglecting to warn him against drinking -- suggested the boy be suspended from one weekend's activities. Tom Bellinger, the boys' team coach at the time, found this discipline much too mild and submitted his resignation. Instead Allan persuaded the coach to dress Simeon but simply not play him until he saw fit -- thus in effect circumventing the ASB recommendation -- and this prompted Simeon to drop out of school and disappear from the village. "This was something of a cultural problem," commented Peverall. "Tom expected a teenager to know something about the difference between right and wrong, especially in a village where alcohol is preached against. But Yup'ik parents don't necessarily see it that way. They're characteristically indulgent and forgiving with their kids, and they're particularly uncomfortable with punitive measures. Basically, we weren't prepared for the incident. If we'd had a rule and a procedure already in place, we would've had much less trouble."

Following Simeon's disappearance, the boy's mother, who is recognized by others in the community as emotionally unstable, stormed up to school and threatened the safety of both the Peveralls' and the Bellingers' small children. Subsequently the Moravian pastor and the village council persuaded Elizabeth Ayaluk to apologize to the threatened teachers, and the trouble ended when Simeon came back from a city-league tournament in a neighboring village and was persuaded by Allan to return peacefully to school. "But I don't think the teaching staff ever felt quite so secure after that," ventured Beverly Lindquist, an elementary teacher.

The ASB also intervened in previous cases of sexual harassment. In 1979 special education teacher Merrill Hearn, who was single, was verbally abused at school by Nick Ayaluk, a young man with a lengthy police record. The board responded by banning Nick from the school groups -- including the gym -- for an indefinite period of time, and the abuse largely halted. In 1980 Merrill was succeeded in her position by Cindy Dalzell, who also suffered threats, abuse, and -- on one occasion -- physical assault, at the hands of Nick. These incidents occurred both at school and at Cindy's house, and Nick was banned again from the grounds of both. This time the abuse continued, and eventually Nick was arrested by the state police. Instances of sexual harassment declined sharply in Lomavik in the years immediately following Nick's accidental drowning in the Old Russian River in 1982.

In the spring of 1983 a suggestion was placed before the Advisory School Board by Moses Ayaluk, an associate teacher and an influential member of the community, that the board formulate a policy limiting the number of years a certified teacher may stay in Lomavik. The board declined to seriously consider this, citing the eventual probability of Yup'ik certified staff, and such a policy would have been beyond their power in any case. Allan Peverall shrugged this off as another attack -- albeit an indirect one -- on David Youngren, who recently ran afoul of Moses by reporting to Allan an alleged incident of corporal punishment in Moses' classroom. ("I found the charge impossible to substantiate," said Peverall. "I don't know what really happened.") The rest of the certified staff, however, was disturbed by Moses' suggestion. "You come here in the first place," said Ian Hadley, "and everyone tells you how sad it is that the teachers just stay a year and never come back. So you make a commitment, and dig in for the long haul, and -- whoops! -- all of a sudden you're staying too long."

In the spring of 1984, in fact, the Peveralls and Ian Hadley and three other veteran Lomavik teachers all left the village for a variety of personal and professional reasons. Only Cindy Dalzell and David Youngren elected to return, and only David remained now from that original staff that had opened the school in 1977. Moreover, in the summer of 1984 Joe King died unexpectedly of natural causes in Anchorage, and Joe's sudden loss meant that incoming principal Cullen Beyer and the rest of his largely new staff would be met by an ASB that was much less immediately decisive and much more open to extended debate than previous Lomavik boards.

This became fully apparent in the board's 1985-86 discussion of the Lomavik School's bilingual program. Since SOS days in the early seventies Lomavik's elementary grades had followed the curriculum and organizational patterns of the BIA's Primary Eskimo Program (PEP). PEP was a transitional bilingual program in which the bulk of instruction in grades K-3 takes place in Yup'ik, with English instruction added in small but gradually increasing amounts in successive years. In the fourth grade this emphasis shifted, with English now the primary instructional language and Yup'ik taught an hour each day for maintenance purposes. Over the

years, however, the English abilities of incoming kindergarteners had substantially improved; indeed in 1984 the board had voted to extend the kindergarten day by one hour in order to provide additional English instruction. In neighboring Crow Village, however, the ASB had voted to dispense with PEP altogether and conduct school solely in English.

In the fall of 1985 Sam Beebe, newly elected to the Lomavik board, voiced concern that their students were still not receiving sufficient quantities of English instruction. "I think Sam was mostly interested in going 50/50 in the early grades," said Cullen Beyer, "but they asked me to do some research into the question, which I did, and finally over a series of meetings I presented four different models of instruction for non-English speaking kids, and I explained about the different lags involved with language acquisition with these models, though not in any negative way." Cullen had children of his own in these grades, and he made no secret of his own preference for more English, but he made a point of staying out of the debate itself, which sometimes grew very heated. "It was mostly Sam Beebe versus Evan Ashepak, who wanted to keep things the way they were, with Adam George [the new ASB president] trying unsuccessfully to establish some sort of consensus."

Finally, in February, 1986, the board voted to retain the PEP program in its present form. Personally Cullen was disappointed by this outcome, but he felt very positive about the process itself. "I felt it was an example of how these boards really ought to work," he said. "Here we had people intelligently talking about a difficult subject in an open atmosphere, and working together. It was dissent, but dissent having positive results in the way we arrived finally at an informed consensus. We really knew what we were talking about by the time we finished talking."

Sam Beebe had raised a divisive and emotional issue, however, and Allan Peverall recalls that at least in connection with another such issue the role of dissent in reaching a consensus was not considered by some in a favorable light:

> I wasn't sure if I was running up against the belief-system itself, or just some conservative individuals intent on defending their turf, but I discovered that there were certain topics, controversial topics, that people just wouldn't even brook discussion on. For example, every year the student council wanted to have a prom, and I knew personally that there were a lot of people, usually younger people, who were entirely in favor of an event like that. So one year I encouraged the kids to go talk to the school board, the village council, the pastor. They came to the board, and the board listened, and then they moved on to the next topic. I don't know what happened elsewhere, but I started hearing all sorts of crazy rumors -- such as I, personally, was sponsoring a dance -- and I started seeing some people getting very, very upset. Some friends of mine in the village advised me that there were some things that are just

better not to talk about, and I had the feeling that these might be the things people were most inclined to argue about. But anyway, there was never a prom.

And just as Allan unintentionally became personally linked with this modest effort to bring dancing to Lomavik, so Cullen would later discover that he had by now become personally linked with an ultimately unpopular effort to reduce the scope of the school's Yup'ik curriculum.

A final point of controversy that came to a head in 1985-86 involved conflict-of-interest among the board members themselves. District policy was firm in its statement that school board members may not also be regular employees of the school, and for that reason Jerry Michael promptly resigned from what was then the CSC in accepting a full-time aide's position in 1977. But district policy was not clear as to whether this restriction applied to substitute or occasional employees as well, and traditionally Lomavik administrators had taken the more permissive view. Therefore Agnes Brink, an ASB member since 1980, had also served as a substitute bilingual teacher since 1979. Because she customarily came to school to work for a few days every month, Peverall described her as a particularly valuable and informed board member: "She didn't have to rely on hearsay to know what was happening at school."

By 1986, however, this situation had become more extreme, with Agnes Brink, Sam Beebe, and Leroy Hill of the board's seven members working on a substitute or occasional basis at school. In less troubled times, such an arrangement may never have elicited comment, but during the winter of that year some villagers were already commenting among themselves that the views of certain ASB members concerning events at school and in the community were tinted by the color of their paychecks, however small and irregular those checks might be.

V. INSIDERS AND OUTSIDERS

Hospitality and friendliness to visitors and strangers are important to Yup'ik people, and I always felt like this was particularly the case in Lomavik. I remember how impressed we were with the smiles and the warmth and the invitations and the gifts of food we received when we came. And of course that was completely sincere, and that warmth persisted for as long as we lived there. But you have to be careful about imagining that that sort of thing should "make you feel right at home," as it were. A cautionary tale among the teachers involved Gary and Barbara Gelvin, who were here for so many years, and who loved Lomavik and who were very well-liked themselves. When they applied to the village corporation to build a house here, their request was denied. At first you might think that this sort of -- not discrimination -- but exclusiveness, was founded on race or culture, and I guess these are factors, but then you see other people in Lomavik -- impeccably Yup'ik people -- who are also

> excluded from certain considerations or privileges and live here in a sort of marginal status. I remember once when the ASB was electing a new chairman, and someone nominated Wassillie Beaver. Wassillie had grown up in Candle Landing, but then he'd married a Lomavik girl, and he'd been living here twelve years or so. I wrote his name on the board, and then Joe King said, "Lomavik residents only." The nomination was never seconded, and finally I erased Wassillie's name. The ASB regulations said you had to live here a month to establish residency, but I guess as far as Joe and some others were concerned, it really took a little while longer than that.
>
> -- Allan Peverall

The response of any community to conflict or stress is fundamentally intertwined with its patterns of social organization, and in a remote Yup'ik village such as Lomavik the rigid insularity of this organization is perhaps its most salient characteristic. At the village's core stand those who are members by virtue of blood of the village's central and prominent families: the Michaels, the Ayaluks, the Georges, the Kings, and Ashpaks, the Marks, the Nicolais, etc. On the fringe are those -- whether Yup'ik or white -- whose blood relationship to these core families may be a certain number of steps removed, or who may be living in Lomavik with no relatives whatsoever. The degree to which a marital relationship may be honored as a blood relationship depends on a number of variables, included in which are the prominence and personal tastes of the families involved.

In any event, the power and central position of the kinship bond in Yup'ik society cannot be overestimated. An indication of this may be seen in the formulaic interchanges that govern social contact between strangers. Whereas in America's mainstream culture the question of identity is approached with inquiries such as "What do you do for a living?", among Yup'ik Eskimos this is accomplished instead with "'Cam ilakaten?' -- Who are you related to?" And whereas loyalty to one's family in urban Alaska or the Lower 48 is broadly subject to the requirement of "Higher" imperatives -- these may emanate from God, country, or certain broad social ideals -- these imperatives have yet to claim any clear ascendancy over one's kin in the bush.

The peculiar strength of this loyalty -- and its implicit suspicion of those beyond its pale -- is probably tied to the absence of any social organization beyond kinship groups in traditional Yup'ik society. "Submission to recognized or usurped authority does not exist among the natives," wrote P.A. Zagoskin, the 19th century Russian explorer, whose observations in this regard have been echoed in the accounts of countless other explorers and scientists. (2) And in the lack, therefore, of any civil authority to compel obedience or mediate disputes, the individual must solely rely on the strength and resolve of his relatives to protect himself from the treachery or hostile designs of those who are not his relatives. The kin-group stands as the only guarantor of one's

possessions, one's prerogatives, and the security of one's spouse and offspring. The individual members of such groups within a village would not easily be roused to anger, but -- when so roused -- conflict could quickly escalate to murder, and a vengeance-murder in turn exacted by the victim's family was a potential result of that. This occasionally set in motion blood-feuds between opposing families whose expanding cycles of retribution might consume an entire village.

Of course today in the bush the state and federal government's justice system is conceded the major role in maintaining social order, but the manner in which this is achieved is nonetheless viewed with ambivalence. Many find the distant workings of this system absolutely inscrutable; many are uncomfortable with the submission to authority that the system requires, especially when that authority has been identified historically with the dispossession of the Indians of the Lower 48; and of course many cannot help but react with anger and dismay when that system requires the forced removal of a close relative from the community.

Insofar as possible, these communities prefer to deal with aberrant behavior on an internal basis. In any given situation, however, the response that the community takes will have much to do with the position of that situation's relevant individuals within the village. In Lomavik, for example, a strong social sanction against either the importation or possession of alcohol existed long before any legal ban was set in place, and in fact this sanction was formally incorporated into the village council's written rules. Nonetheless Nick Ayaluk repeatedly brought alcohol into the village, was seen drunk a number of times, and while under the influence committed a number of crimes. Because Nick was a member of one of Lomavik's central families, however, this behavior was largely ignored -- as it would have been a century ago, unless the man's behavior became so intolerable as to compel his murder. In telling contrast to this, however, is the treatment accorded Matthew Alexie, who in 1980 was living in Lomavik while the rest of his family stayed in Candle Landing. Caught early one night with a bottle of whiskey by certain village elders, Matthew was packed and on a plane to Candle Landing later that same evening. He did not return again to Lomavik until his father became pastor there in 1981.

This contrast illustrates a dichotomy of social response that varies according to whether the aberrant individual has important familial ties to the community or not; in short, whether he is an "insider" or an "outsider." Customarily, if an insider is causing some manner of disturbance, then the disturbance may be consciously ignored, it may be unconsciously denied, or the guilt of the disturbance may be projected outside the kin-group. If an outsider is causing a disturbance, however, then the first threshold of response is a general social ostracism, and the second is a physical exile from the community. It may be in recognition of this dichotomy that such a large number of Eskimo folktales involve the exploits of orphans, for what could be of greater wonder than that an orphan -- someone with no kin to claim within the village --

should triumph against adversity and attain an important social position within the community?

The observations of anthropologist Jean Briggs may help to illustrate some of the nuances of these responses. Briggs lived as a member of a tiny Canadian Inuit community in the early sixties, and her descriptions of this community's social dynamics are relevant to Lomavik. At one point Briggs describes herself becoming conspicuously angry at some white fishermen whom she believes to be taking advantage of her hosts. The Eskimos misinterpret her anger as directed against them, however, and in any event are disturbed by such a loss of self-control. This results in Briggs' ostracism from the village's social life, and this condition persists over a span of many months. The anthropologist is able to end this ostracism only by the most circuitous means: She writes to an Eskimo woman in a large neighboring town, explaining the reasons for her anger, and this woman in turn -- who has relatives in Briggs' village -- writes and reassures her family about the white woman's intentions.

Briggs also observes a specimen of this ostracism directed against a Native member of the community. She describes her village as consisting essentially of three separate kin groups, but one group is smaller than the other two and more distantly allied. Briggs lives within one of the larger groups, and notices that although a great many tensions inevitably accrue within the household in the course of daily life, on no account is anger or even criticism directed against the close relatives who may be the source of these tensions. She heard a great deal of criticism, however, directed against the members of the smaller and more extraneous family, and in particular against Niqi, a woman more mercurial in her behavior than was thought appropriate. Writes Briggs:

> Thus in our camp "hujujaq" [critical] comments tended to focus on the unpleasantly volatile Niqi. It seemed to make no difference whether she laughed or smiled, or was silent and still, whether she visited or sat at home, people said her behavior made them "hujujaq." If she made flabby oatmeal or let the lamp flare so that it sooted up the iglu, it made people "hujujaq." Just having to pass her where she fished on the way to one's own fishing hole made one feel "hujujaq." (3)

It would seem, therefore, that an outsider within an Eskimo community -- whether the outsider is an utter alien, such as a visiting scientist, or a teacher, or whether the outsider is simply one of tenuous familial ties -- does in fact perform a socially constructive role: one not lightly assigned, but nonetheless there. In a world of close quarters and sometimes hazardous living, where equanimity and self-control are so firmly required, the outsider serves as a relief-valve upon whom anxieties and resentments that might be dangerous to one's own household may be harmlessly focused. A teacher may seem particularly attractive in this regard, since a teacher's relationship to an Eskimo community is customarily transient anyway, and since it happens that teachers -- especially inexperienced ones -- are so frequently inappropriate in their

decorum. But in this same regard a teacher is also something of a puzzle, since the utility of an outsider depends to a substantial degree on that person's vulnerability to ostracism or exile. A teacher -- especially an unpopular teacher -- is often not involved with the village's social life to begin with, and the terms of that teacher's professional control -- which guarantee an assignment at a specific site for a specific duration of time -- along with his general freedom to renew that contract, request a transfer, or resign according to his own inclinations at the end of that time, also make it difficult for a community to exert the same tangible control over his presence that it customarily exerts over the other outsiders in its midst.

VI. THE HARASSED TEACHER

The position of any single white female -- especially one who lives alone -- in a Yup'ik community is not a reassuring one, what with their vulnerability outside the kinship network, the number of threatened or frustrated young village males, the baneful influence of alcohol, and the impossibility of any immediate intervention by the Alaska State Police. And yet such communities remain on the whole very safe for the women who come to work in them, and only rarely do the advances to which the women are subject escalate into serious problems. At one time Lomavik's problems in this regard were thought to reside almost entirely within the single person of Nick Ayaluk, who menaced both Merrill Hearn from 1977 to 1980, and Cindy Dalzell from 1980 to 1982. Nick's death in 1982, however, provided a long interlude of relative peace for Cindy and seemed to put an end to the problem of sexual harassment in Lomavik.

In fact, since Cindy's arrival in 1980, her entanglement with Nick Ayaluk had been the only instance of persistent trouble that had accrued to her. She had come to Lomavik as a first-year teacher from rural Montana, and from the very beginning she had exhibited those characteristics of courage, resilience, and self-control so much admired by her neighbors. As the school's special education teacher, she spent her day with students whose learning disabilities were generally expressed in low motivation and unruly behavior, and yet by and large she succeeded in commanding both the affection and the respect of these students. Lomavik's special education students made substantial progress in general, and during Cindy's tenure a number of them tested out of the program. "She was an excellent, excellent teacher," commented Allan Peverall.

Socially Cindy was not truly close to anyone in the village, but -- given some of the circumstances that governed her life in Lomavik -- her broader relationship with the community could be described as extraordinarily good. One such circumstance, of course, was her unsolicited trouble with Nick Ayaluk. "None of Nick's relatives ever seemed willing to say anything against him, even though he was almost as nasty to them as he was to everybody else," commented Bob Lindquist, the secondary social studies teacher. "But when the cops came to take him away that year for hassling Cindy, there seemed to be an appreciation of

the justice of that action. They knew it was something he brought on himself, and besides, the cops were always after Nick for some reason or another. It was just an ordinary day for that guy."

Another circumstance was her five-year relationship with David Youngren, a teacher who was very unpopular in the village. "Lomavik was always a paradoxical place," said Ken Parrett, who arrived with David Youngren and the Peveralls in 1977 and succeeded Gary Gelvin as principal the following year. "It seemed that things you wanted people to know about, and understand, just didn't get through, no matter how hard you tried. But anything you wanted kept secret just went from mouth to mouth like wildfire, and by the next day the second graders were talking about it."

In respect to who is seeing whom -- or more specifically, who was seen leaving whose house at four A.M. in the morning -- this would certainly seem to be true, as an ear to village gossip will attest. David and Cindy were almost painfully discreet about their relationship, and for some time David was careful to conceal its existence even from close friends on the teaching staff. There may have been personal reasons behind this secrecy, but seemingly one of its motives lay in consideration of Moravianism's disapproval of premarital sex. Nonetheless their relationship was an open secret throughout the village, though this did not seem to compromise Cindy's place in the community. "I always found it very curious," Allan Peverall recalled. "For a time people were always seeking me out or coming up to board meetings to complain about David, but nobody ever had anything critical to say about David's girlfriend, or their relationship. Those things seemed to be kept in very different boxes."

There were some small points of discord along the way. In 1981 Cindy went to the village council and rented Lomavik's abandoned post office as a place to live, and subsequently David substantially improved and renovated the building. "For some reason they didn't seem to like that," Cindy said, and there was talk of abrogating her lease. On another occasion Joe King appropriated for his steambath some lumber left in a barrel outside Cindy's porch, and after Cindy complained bitterly -- and ineffectually -- to Joe, Cindy reported the theft to the state police. But none of these incidents seemed to have any effect on the general sense of trust and respect that Cindy enjoyed from the community at large, and during the three years following Nick Ayaluk's death she was only infrequently called upon to fend off the advances of other men. At no time during this period did she suffer anything she might have called harassment.

In that winter of 1985-86, however, as the police investigation dragged on month after month, Cindy began to feel that the village as a whole was turning against her. And along with the terrifying late-night phone calls, Cindy noticed a sudden increase in the more ordinary proposals submitted to her, and an occasional hint of anger when she refused. "With the police coming in and everything, there were lots of rumors going around," Cindy said. "It wasn't that anybody said anything

to me particularly, or did anything. I guess it was just a feeling I got that suddenly there was some kind of problem, and that people were feeling that the problem was me, and not what somebody else was doing."

VII. THE UNPOPULAR TEACHER

If there was any enduring point of contention between the Lomavik School and the community during the school's first decade of operation, this surrounded the presence of elementary teacher David Youngren. During the first two months of the school year in 1977, however, David seemed an unlikely candidate for this sort of trouble. Like many of his peers that year, he was young and inexperienced; but he was also cheerful, hard-working, and he came to Lomavik from California with generous quantities of both enthusiasm for this profession and respect for traditional Eskimo culture. Gary Gelvin assigned him to the school's seventh and eighth grade classroom -- an assignment he was to hold for the next nine years -- and David very quickly established an exemplary multi-grade program. "I don't believe I've ever observed a teacher with better rapport with his kids," said Allan Peverall, "and every year that program just seemed to get better and better." And even the bitterest of David's enemies in the community never failed to concede his skill and sensitivity as a teacher.

Part of the problem with David may have been one of personality. "David reacted to things very exuberantly," observed Mary Ann Carter, and his was an exuberance and straightforwardness that other members of the certified teaching staff found largely appealing. David's Yup'ik neighbors, however, so guarded themselves with their emotions, may have found David's displays disconcerting, even threatening. Curiously, David had always naturally stayed very much within himself in the classroom, and as the years went by, David's personal manner underwent a change; it came to mirror his style in the classroom, until finally -- in respect to his personal feelings -- he became a model of self-control, discretion, and private counsel.

But certainly the major sources of David's troubles in Lomavik lay in a combination of unfortunate circumstance and cultural naivete. These troubles began in October of 1977 with the role that David was called upon to play in the school's nascent basketball program. At that time Lomavik was in a near fever-pitch of excitement both about the opening of the gym and the prospect of these student programs. Gary Gelvin had resolved, however, that both the boys' and the girls' basketball teams should have coaches who were members of the school's certified staff. "First," explained Gary, "I knew that the district had a policy requiring the presence of a certified teacher every time a student group travelled. And second, I wanted to be sure that academics remained our first priority, and I felt a certified person could handle that best."

The boys' team was no problem: Allan Peverall was an experienced player and had already won the boys' regard. But beyond Allan, there was no one on the staff with the least familiarity with basketball. Finally

Gary called for a volunteer learn-as-you-go girls' basketball coach, and David -- with characteristic energy and willingness to help -- answered. But the high school girls who were to be coached by David reacted with an outrage to David's selection that surprised the entire certified staff.

In all likelihood the girls had no personal objections to David at this point; but the SOS grade school wrestling teams had been coached by Native Lomavik people familiar with wrestling, and the girls had expected either Jerry Michael or Isaac Fox -- both skilled basketball players, both classified staff members -- to be named as their coach. Gary explained his views to the girls and David remained in the position; the girls remained angry, their anger was taken up by their parents, and all the blame for their disappointment seemed to devolve on David. The controversy, however, seemed only to strengthen David's own resolve to hang on to the position and prove himself an effective basketball coach. He remained in that capacity for the next six years, fielding some very fine teams, though never establishing the rapport with his girls that he achieved routinely in the classroom. In 1983 Allan judged that the classified staff was ready to assume coaching roles in the basketball programs and David was persuaded to step aside.

If the basketball incident served to put David at a disadvantage in the eyes of the village, then the events of the fall of 1978 thoroughly condemned him. That preceding spring, when the Gelvins had made clear their intention not to return to Lomavik, David had arranged with Jimmy Nicolai to rent the house that the Gelvins had occupied. Though somewhat small, the house was sturdier than the other buildings available to the teachers, and David had agreed to pay the same rent that the Gelvins had paid for seven years: $100/month. "One time we offered to pay more," Gary recalled, "but Jimmy wouldn't hear of it."

During the summer of 1978, however, Jimmy's eldest son Paul -- who had been living in Candle Landing -- returned to Lomavik with his wife and stood in need of a house of his own. This placed Jimmy in an uncomfortable position: In the Yup'ik manner, he felt that primarily he must accommodate his son, and also felt that it would be inappropriate to approach David directly on the matter. Instead, when David moved in in the fall, Jimmy submitted the sort of hints that would have been immediately meaningful to a Yup'ik person -- or perhaps a white person of wider experience -- but which simply did not register with David at the time. The year wore on, and finally Jimmy -- in growing frustration -- became more forceful, though still indirect; he informed David of a substantial rent increase, and said that additional money would be owed for the previous months' rents as well.

To David, this was nothing more than a predatory attempt to take advantage of him, and -- as in the basketball incident -- he responded with a stubborn resolve not to buckle under. He refused to pay Jimmy's increase and instead drew up a formal lease that reflected the terms of their original agreement. Angry now himself, Jimmy threw the lease aside. This began a series of unfriendly incidents between the two

households that prompted the involvement -- to no avail -- of both the village council and the ASB, and which finally climaxed one night outside the contested house in a shoving and shouting match between David and two of Jimmy's sons. The men very nearly came to blows.

This whole train of events was astonishing to the people of Lomavik. Not only was Jimmy Nicolai the head of one of the village's more important families, he was also a respected elder and a member of the Moravian church council. It made no difference finally that David found another house to rent shortly after the shoving match and that he maintained cordial relations with that landlord for the next seven years. It was astonishing first that a young man such as David should not be immediately compliant with Jimmy, whatever the elder's wishes, and second, that the disagreement should reach such a dangerous extreme.

From that point on, it seemed that David was to be roundly criticized no matter what he did. If he used school materials in any carpentry projects at this house -- he was always careful to use only surplus materials and to pay for what he used -- this was interpreted as theft. If he remained in the village for any length of time after the close of school in the summer, this was so he could steal on a wholesale basis. If he happened to anchor his skiff in the near vicinity of Jimmy Nicolai's, this was seen as a calculated affront. If he happened to perform renovation on the building Cindy Dalzell rented from the village council, this was seen as a usurpation of the village council's authority. And then of course there was his decision each spring to renew his contract and remain in Lomavik, despite indications from his neighbors that he was unwelcome: This was a sudden and very unsettling indication that the village could no longer so easily choose who lived within its precincts.

In the face of this antagonism, a number of David's friends among the teachers were also puzzled as to why he came back year after year. Said Allan Peverall:

> David never wanted to talk about it. He was my friend, he was a superb teacher, and personally I was always happy when he signed on again. On his part, there may have been personal reasons, I suppose, attachments he didn't want to give up, and God knows he was attached to his kids. But I always thought a good part of it was that damned persistence of his. Once he started something, he just wasn't going to give up until he'd succeeded at it, no matter what. And maybe he had the feeling that if he just kept trying and trying -- being careful about what he said, keeping a handle on his feelings, sliding away from confrontations -- then maybe someday he'd be accepted in Lomavik. And actually it seemed to be working, especially after he gave up the coaching. In my last two years in Lomavik [1982-84] complaints about David seemed to fall way off, and once in a while somebody even said something nice about him.

Cullen Beyer notes that David's presence did not seem to occasion any special problem during the 1984-85 school year, and that following summer Aaron Ashepak, an associate teacher, invited David to be his guest at his summer fish camp. "But it seems like people never completely forgot that other stuff," said Nora Beaver, and Allan Peverall suggests that David's unexpected marriage to Rita Nick might have served to remind them of some of that "other stuff": "It might be that things just cooled off to the point where people thought it would be okay just to wait David out -- I think that was Joe King's idea all along -- but then when he married the Crow Village girl, that might have gotten people to thinking that David was never going to move on, that instead he was going to bring Rita here and set up permanent residency."

In any event, so long as David remained in Lomavik he was palpable and long-term proof of both the ASB's inability to remove an unpopular teacher, and the entire community's inability to exercise the same control it formerly had over its social environment.

VIII. THE ASSOCIATE TEACHER

At the end of that 1977-78 school year Gary Gelvin arranged for the lay-off of associate teacher Isaac Fox. Officially the reason for this was a drop in elementary enrollment. "Afterwards I felt guilty about that," said Gary, "because I realized that as soon as the enrollment came up again he'd have to be re-hired. I really should have just terminated him."

Gary had always found Isaac prickly to work with, and Isaac had been particularly difficult during that first year of operation in the new school. As the school's kindergarten teacher, Isaac had worked under the direct supervision of Barbara Gelvin, the certified ESL teacher, and it seemed to make Isaac angry to have to take direction from a woman. Of course other Yup'ik men of the staff, and many of the high school boys, betrayed this same tendency, but in Isaac it seemed to interfere with his job performance. Also he complained bitterly about how the "kass'aqs" (the white people) were making all the rules and appropriating all the authority -- this was largely an accurate observation in 1977, when the CSC had so little authority -- and his generally obstreperous attitude finally led Gary to conclude that Isaac had no place at the school.

Of course the associate teacher position that Isaac was leaving was something of a peculiar one. Back in the mid-seventies, when Alaska's school systems began to adopt bilingual education programs, the problem initially was who would teach them. In Lomavik and elsewhere the solution was to find capable high school graduates -- such as Aaron Ashepak, Moses Ayaluk, and Isaac Fox -- administer them crash courses in educational practice, Yup'ik orthography, the BIA's PEP program, and then allow them primary responsibility in their elementary classrooms. Ideally they would work under the close supervision of a certified ESL teacher, though in

reality this often meant nothing more than weekly meetings to coordinate lesson plans.

An associate teacher such as Isaac Fox generally worked with a great deal of autonomy and was called upon to perform the same sort of tasks as a certified teacher: generating lesson plans, implementing curricula, evaluating student progress, managing a multi-grade classroom. In fact, it might be argued that associate teachers had even greater autonomy than their certified peers, and this because of a common reluctance of administrators and ESL supervisors to involve themselves in classrooms where they cannot understand the medium of instruction. Among the certified staff in the Old Russian River district as a whole, Allan Peverall was virtually alone in his own rudimentary understanding of Yup'ik.

Such autonomy, however, was not reflected in either pay or influence. It was hoped that as these associate teachers taught they would at the same time progress towards a college degree and teacher certification through intensive Thursday-Sunday courses offered regularly at Candle Landing's community college. But progress was slow, attendance irregular, and in the early eighties the community college program faded away. In its place the district began to encourage leaves-of-absence to achieve certification, though a number of years in Fairbanks is virtually impossible for a teacher with family, as is the case with all of Lomavik's associate teachers. In the meantime Old Russian River's associate teachers remain with essentially the same responsibilities as its certified teachers but an average of some 30% less in pay: "Just because of that piece of paper," as Isaac Fox once commented. Nor do associate teachers customarily share an equal voice with certified teachers in staff decision-making, though in 1981 Allan Peverall initiated a series of staff meetings in Lomavik at which all instructional personnel -- as well as teacher aides -- were included. These meetings were discontinued, however, by Cullen Beyer.

With his family deprived of a substantial cash income on which they had come to rely, the winter of 1978-79 was very difficult for Isaac Fox. That following fall, however, a large entering kindergarten class provided for Isaac's re-hire, but this time in the capacity of an aide of Moses Ayaluk, who had combined kindergarten-first grade responsibility. Since Isaac had the skills, however, to manage his own program, Moses left him to more or less resume his old position, now under different title and at lower pay. But Isaac was very happy to be working again, and other members of the teaching staff -- male and female, some of whom were dreading his return -- found him now much more positive in outlook and cooperative in manner.

In 1982 Allan Peverall reinstated Isaac to his former associate teacher status. Allan had been impressed by Isaac's generally helpful contributions at staff meetings, his efforts to be more courteous towards other staff members, the manner in which he approached Allan with questions and educational concerns, and his overall performance in the

classroom. "Sometimes I felt like Isaac was trying to bait me, or rag me more than I needed to be," Allan commented, "but by then I knew Isaac pretty well -- we'd played ball together, hunted, travelled -- and I knew he was just a little bit like that, and I was able to balance that against quite a few of the good things that he accomplished."

Allan did entertain a few lingering reservations about Isaac's conduct, however, though in sum he did not consider these significant:

> I knew that Isaac saw sick leave in the same light as annual leave, something that you earned and should be able to use as you liked, so I wasn't always 100% sure that Isaac was legitimately sick on the occasions when he called in. One time I saw him walking around the village on a day when he'd taken sick leave, and I made a note of that. But I never observed that again, and when I looked at this timesheets, I saw that he didn't really take any more sick leave than the rest of us.

Another problem concerned suspicions of drinking:

> Of course there was that summer when Isaac and Jerry Michael got drunk and started fighting, and Joe King wanted Isaac fired. I told Isaac afterwards that as a teacher he had the responsibility of providing a positive role model for the kids, and that he needed to be much more careful about his behavior. So no more public drunkenness. And then maybe a year after that, one morning Isaac just didn't show up to school. I went down to his house, where everybody was asleep, and I woke him up. He said he was too sick to come in, but I had a feeling he was too hung-over. He didn't show up the next day either. When he finally did report in, I told him I couldn't handle another disappearance like that. Isaac understood and took it very well, and there weren't any more incidents like that, at least so long as I was there.

In 1984, however, Cullen Beyer began to entertain some reservations of his own, both about Isaac's ability to work with others and his use of leave. He was also unhappy about Isaac's calling in sick just a few minutes before nine, leaving the kindergarten class unsupervised for as long as half an hour while Agnes Brink prepared herself to come up in Isaac's place. In response Cullen instituted a policy of notice required by 8:30 for the use of sick leave. On his part, Isaac claimed that Cullen was motivated by personal animosity and sought to entrap him: "I'd call up at 8:29, and then we'd start talking some, and by the time I got to telling him I couldn't come in, it was after 8:30, and he'd try to nail me for that."

Isaac also started to have concerns of his own about Cullen's support of bilingual education. For a number of years Isaac had accompanied Moses Ayaluk and Aaron Ashepak into Anchorage for the annual midwinter workshop hosted by Old Russian River's bilingual department. In 1984 Cullen

informed Isaac that there was not enough money in Lomavik's bilingual budget to allow his attendance that year. On his own recognizance Isaac contacted the director of the district bilingual department and persuaded her to fund his travel out of her own department budget.

In the fall of 1985 Cullen directed Isaac to discontinue use of the PEP materials in his classroom and replace them with a higher level of the Asper-Folta curricular materials used in the Lomavik preschool program. "He said go ahead and do my Yup'ik program, just use this stuff instead," Isaac said. "But those are English-language materials, and they don't work in Yup'ik. The Asper-Folta introduces the letter 'a' with 'airplane.' In Yup'ik the work for 'airplane' is 'tengssuun.' They're different languages and the sounds and materials don't match up."

That preceding spring Isaac had missed some days of school with insufficient notice, and Cullen had reason to believe that Isaac was absent because he was drinking. Like Allan Peverall before him, Cullen warned Isaac when he returned that such an instance must not occur again. In March, 1986, however, Cullen found Isaac inexplicably missing once again one morning, and at 8:50 he asked Nora Beaver, Isaac's sister, to call down to his house. Isaac's wife answered and said her husband was suffering from chest pains. During the next two days Isaac's wife called in to school with the same report. Two days after Isaac's eventual return to work, he received written notice from Cullen that -- effective immediately -- he was terminated from his position.

Isaac was replaced on an interim basis in the kindergarten classroom by Agnes Brink, his regular substitute and a long-time ASB member. When questioned himself by community members about the reasons for Isaac's dismissal, Cullen felt constrained by respect for Isaac's privacy and replied that the reasons were confidential. But when Betty Ashepak -- Aaron's wife -- asked Cullen's Yup'ik wife Martha about the matter, Martha replied that Isaac had been fired because he had been drunk for most of a week.

If Cullen was reluctant to comment on the issue, Isaac certainly was not. He complained to his relatives and other neighbors that his absence had been caused by a legitimate and chronic disability, and that the principal's actions had been motivated by antagonism both towards him personally and bilingual education generally. Isaac also questioned why he was dismissed without the ASB being even notified of the problem. Cullen viewed this activity somewhat bitterly as "politicking" on Isaac's part, and in response to the question of the ASB's role replied, "The principal is the one who terminates an employee, not the ASB, and district policy is very clear on that. Of course the ASB has a right to know, and in fact I was going to report on the matter to them at the meeting scheduled for the end of March. But then that was the same night that people from the Yupiit Nation were here, and the ASB meeting was cancelled in behalf of that other meeting."

In any event, people in Lomavik began to recall other incidents that seemed to demonstrate arbitrariness on Cullen's part in matters of leave or dismissal. Some mentioned the time Jacob Cyril, the school's conscientious maintenance mechanic, had asked for leave to attend a relative's funeral, but was denied. Others said that Anna Mark, the school's substitute cook, had been fired merely so that Sam Beebe, the ASB member, could take her place (in fact Anna had resigned because she was pregnant). Certainly what was most impressive about Isaac's dismissal, however, was its swiftness and ease in contrast to the years of vain effort that the community had addressed to David Youngren's dismissal.

IX. THE YUPIIT NATION

Alaskan Natives are very much aware of the history and present straits of America's continental Indian tribes. Engulfed by the militant westward sweep of White settlement, these tribes have progressively witnessed the loss of their lands, their economies, their traditional cultures, and their indigenous languages. Many have disappeared entirely into the history books, while the rest stand uncomfortably assimilated into a world not of their own devising, their communities stagnating at the bottom rungs of the nation's economic life.

Alaska's Native cultures, however, and particularly the Eskimos, have largely been protected from this sort of engulfment by their lands' remoteness, severity, and lack of economically exploitable resources. But within the past two decades advances in technology and changes in the world's economic climate have brought the outside world quite suddenly to bush Alaska's doorstep. Villages throughout the bush now have much more regular traffic and contact with the Outside, and many host a substantial white population of teachers, fishermen, guides, school employees, spouses, etc. These represent a world that now entertains a considerable interest in the minerals and the oil, the fish and the timber, that lie within Native lands, and many Alaskan Natives are apprehensive not only about the threat of the cash economy to their endemic life-styles, but also about their ability to benefit themselves from what cash their lands do generate. In the past few years, for example, some 14% of the limited-entry commercial fishing permits issued into Native hands in 1975 have since found their way into the hands of outsiders, many of them not even Alaska residents. (4)

So the battles that the continental Indians fought and lost in the woodlands and on the plains are being fought now in Alaska in the community halls, legislative chambers, and the state and federal court rooms. Certainly the most notable engagement thus far has been the negotiation of ANCSA, which was hailed throughout the bush as such a great victory in 1971, but which now may become the vehicle for an acculturation and dispossession as thorough as anything that transpired in the Lower 48. The difficulties of the Native corporations established by ANCSA have not been entirely of their own making: Aside from inexperienced management, the corporations have suffered from the federal government's

delays in the conveyance of assets, the seventies' crippling economic recession, and the state's own failure to generate sustained economic activity from its oil revenues. As of 1983, Calista -- the Yup'ik Eskimo regional corporation, and the largest corporation established by ANCSA -- had lost $28 million in its twelve years of operation, and its difficulties have been typical of the performance of other regional corporations. Thus, not only have village residents seen hardly a dime of the wealth that ANCSA was supposed to confer, but there is real prospect that in 1991 -- when Native corporate stock enters the open market and corporate lands become subject to taxation -- Native stocks and lands may slip away into non-Native hands, as has been the case with the limited-entry fishing permits.

As of 1986, Alaskan Natives had framed two differing political responses to this threat. On one hand, the Anchorage-based Alaska Federation of Natives had chosen to work within the original spirit of ANCSA and submit amendments of the legislation to Congress that would obstruct the potential loss of Native assets. And on the other hand, a more rural-based "sovereignty" movement has arisen in recognition that -- if little else -- the remnants of the continental Indian tribes possess land held in trust for them in perpetuity, and that within these lands they are independent of state jurisdiction and accordingly more "sovereign" in the management of their own affairs. Therefore this movement seeks to more or less abjure ANCSA and reaffirm the federal trust relationship -- along with its attendant reservation system -- that historically has governed Native American affairs.

In southwestern Alaska this movement has taken shape in the form of the Yupiit Nation, which began in the summer of 1984 as an association of the Bethel-area villages of Akiak, Akiachak, and Tuluksak. The long-term aims of the organization included -- among others -- the transfer of corporate lands from the hands of the village corporations to traditional council governments; the establishment of systems of tribal law enforcement and fish and game management; the retention of BIA educational services, or -- failing that -- the establishment of a separate Yupiit Nation school district in which the villagers themselves would enjoy direct control over all professional and non-professional personnel; and the eventual uniting of all 55 of the state's Yup'ik villages under the Yupiit Nation aegis.

In immediate terms, however, one of the organization's first activities consisted of an attempt to restrict the access of state enforcement officials to the three Yupiit Nation villages. "We've always had the authority to manage our own affairs," asserted Sam George of Akiachak to a regional newspaper. "We're willing to cooperate with state law enforcement as long as they let us know when they are coming and what they are investigating." (5) Subsequently attempts were made -- ultimately unsuccessful -- to deny village entry to state troopers who had not reported first to Yupiit Nation officials. And on one occasion an airplane belonging to a state fish and game officer was impounded by a Yupiit Nation village.

In October of 1984 the Nation applied successfully to the state legislature to establish their own school district, and in February of 1985 the residents of three more villages voted to join the Nation, though not the school district. During that following year representatives of the Yupiit Nation fanned out all over the region, meeting with village residents and urging them to join their organization. By coincidence the Nation's initial visit to Lomavik was on the night of March 31, 1986: the same night of the first scheduled ASB meeting following the dismissal of Isaac Fox, and a week prior to the arrest of Bobby George. The ASB meeting was postponed to the night of April 15th.

The meeting on the 31st would not involve any decision as to whether Lomavik should join the organization. That would come later, at the beginning of June. Instead an official from the Nation was present that night to describe their organization, answer questions, and listen as the "Lomavigmiut" debated the issue among themselves. A number of reservations were expressed: One of the obstacles that has previously beset southwest regional organizations -- for example, the Association of Village Council Presidents (AVCP) -- has been the wide diversity and stubborn independence of Yup'ik villages, and some wondered how much in common Lomavik shared with a Bethel-area village such as Akiachak. Others were wary of potential losses in state revenues, while others expressed dismay at the Nation's general adversarial stance towards the state. But balanced against these -- aside from the apprehensions surrounding 1991 -- were rumors to the effect that after a certain number of years' residence outsiders (such as David Youngren) became legal and permanent village residents; also the recognition that in a mere five years a tide of incoming "kass'aqs" had swung the population of Bethel from 70% Yup'ik in 1980 to only 50% Yup'ik in 1985, and that a similar population shift had occurred in Candle Landing. The majority of Candle Landing's better-paying jobs now belonged to these "kass'aqs," and so now did every single seat on the city council.

The political and social atmosphere of Lomavik at that moment was very turbulent, and the presence of the Yupiit Nation that night in Lomavik's community hall did nothing to clarify that atmosphere. But terms such as "sovereignty," "self-determination," and "local control" struck responsive chords in at least some of those present.

X. ON THE EVE

To the students of the Lomavik School, April 15th was a day no different from any other, at least so far as Cullen Beyer could tell. Attendance was good, classes ran smoothly, and that productive learning atmosphere which -- to Cullen's surprise -- had prevailed at school unchanged throughout this winter of discontent was still in evidence. Certainly the students were aware of the controversies that now raged about the school program; nonetheless they were studying as hard as they ever had, and were as cooperative as ever with David, Cindy, Cullen

himself, and the other members of the certified staff. He enjoyed working with these cheerful, warm-spirited youngsters, took great pride in their accomplishments, and as he observed them that morning he felt all the more disheartened to know that they stood together with him at a crossroads in the school's educational program.

Roger Jarman, the district superintendent, was expected on a plane late that afternoon. Three days ago Adam George, the president of the ASB, had requested Cullen to ensure Roger's presence at tonight's meeting, and had also informed Cullen that a period of executive session -- reserved for the confidential discussion of matters prejudicial to the reputations of the person or persons involved -- would be added to the meeting agenda. Also, said Adam, please make sure that Cindy and David came to the meeting.

It had been roughly a week now since Cullen had watched from the window of his classroom as a pair of state troopers had escorted Bobby George, Adam's son, to a plane idling on the runway. Cullen did not know Bobby very well: He seemed quiet, and Cullen surmised he smoked a lot of dope, but he was a fine basketball player and he seemed to have a lot of influence with other young men his age. Cullen had been surprised when Cindy had told him in January that Bobby was one of the suspects in the case. Even before Bobby had reached the plane Nora Beaver had come into the classroom saying that Adam George was on the phone for Cullen. "He sounds pretty mad," Nora said. Cullen told her he was too busy with his class to come just them. Later Nora said many people still couldn't guess what Bobby was accused of, and maybe Adam didn't know either.

So it was plain why Cindy was requested at the meeting, Cullen thought, though in another sense it wasn't plain at all. Certainly he couldn't understand why people were so bitterly circulating that petition demanding her removal, and which he guessed was now to be presented to Roger at the meeting that night. How have things gotten twisted around, he wondered, so that the victim is being blamed for the crime? One hopeful sign: Bobby George was already back in Lomavik, awaiting his arraignment, and yesterday Cindy had told Cullen that Bobby had apologized to her -- "That's nice, but a little late," Cindy said -- and had also promised to confess his crime at the meeting that night. In addition, Tom and Cara Bellinger and all the rest of the certified staff had expressed their intention to come and voice their support for Cindy.

Cullen was also a little puzzled as to David's place on that petition. His former relationship to Cindy was all in the past now, and other than having on one occasion chased Bobby away from Cindy's house, Cullen could not see how David was significantly implicated in the problem. Somebody said it was because David -- along with Cindy -- had called the state police, but since when was that a punishable offense? In any event, Cullen had heard there were more than a hundred signatures on the document, and he fully expected to see every one of those signees -- along with the still very angry Isaac Fox -- ranged before him that night.

Nor was the principal reassured as to the circumstances of the meeting. Adam had said the meeting would be at the community hall -- instead of at the school, where ASB meetings were normally held -- and that it was to be chaired jointly by the ASB, the village council, and the Moravian council of church elders. Cullen himself had always been firm in his separation of educational and community issues: Cindy was a Lomavik resident, she was the victim of a civil disturbance, and therefore this was not appropriately an issue for the school board. And as for the village council, hadn't they declined any involvement -- in the person of Albert Mark -- when informed of the problem in October? Though by now this seemed to be simply a matter for the court in Candle Landing, the phone calls and harassment were nonetheless about to become a school board issue, and the board's authority was to be shared with two other village organizations. And similarly this authority was to be shared in regard to other issues -- such as the Isaac Fox problem, and possibly David Youngren -- that in fact were very much the school board's business, and not the village or church council's.

All in all, Cullen concluded, the evening was shaping up as a terrible ordeal. His own place in Lomavik, the rights and reputations of two excellent teachers, and the entire Lomavik educational program -- painstakingly assembled and refined for all these nine years as an exemplar of what could be achieved in the bush -- were all manifestly in danger. He ascribed the least importance to his own survival. He'd gladly leave this suddenly contentious village, he decided, if by doing so he could save the rest. But finally he wasn't sure at all what he could do -- what he <u>should</u> do -- if everything already wasn't beyond his control. He was <u>only</u> certain -- and no less amazed -- at how swiftly and easily everything seemed to go sour.

APPENDIX ONE

The Meeting and Its Aftermath

The community meeting in Lomavik began at 4 P.M. on April 15, 1986, with approximately 120 people in attendance. A lengthy period of public discussion ensued during the "People To Be Heard" portion of the agenda, and two major concerns were in evidence: First, many people were disturbed by the recent dismissal of Isaac Fox, and concerned that this had been effected without the involvement of the ASB; and second, many were similarly disturbed by the recently-concluded state police investigation in the village, and seemed to hold Cindy Dalzell and David Youngren directly responsible for the investigation. A great deal of personal criticism was leveled against these teachers, and at one point when Peter Cyril -- a young man who was a former student of Cindy's and a second cousin to Jacob Cyril, but with no closer relatives than that in the village -- rose to defend the teachers, Peter was instructed in Yup'ik by church elder Jimmy Nicolai either to leave the meeting or risk being thrown out of the village. Subsequently the young man left.

Executive session began at approximately 6 P.M. This portion of the meeting concerned specifically the petition for the removal of the two certified teachers, and -- in accordance with the regulations surrounding executive session -- the general public was required to leave. This left the two teachers, the principal Cullen Beyer, the superintendent Roger Jarman, the alleged misdemeanant Bobby George, and the officers of the three village organizations.

During this session members of the organizations rose to speak in turn against David Youngren. They voiced complaints concerning David's 1978 housing dispute with Jimmy Nicolai, alleged subsequent instances of affronts and threats perpetrated against the elder, alleged instances of theft in years past, alleged instances of disrespect and improper appropriation of authority against the village as a whole. (The painting and renovation of the house rented to Cindy Dalzell was cited in evidence of this last charge.) When discussion turned to the police investigation, these officers voiced concerns to the effect that the entire village was being accused of wrongdoing. Sam Beebe stated that the police accused him of making calls from his house and stated that the police in principle had no right to come to his house. Adam George asserted that whoever said his son was guilty of these acts was a liar. When Bobby George subsequently confessed that the accusations were true, however, the ASB president -- momentarily startled -- responded that nonetheless Cindy would be required to leave.

Questions were raised concerning Cindy's failure to enlist the help of local organizations before calling in the state police. Why was the village council never informed? When Cullen Beyer replied that he had approached council president Albert Mark, he was told that it would have been more appropriate to approach the council as a whole. Subsequently

council members stated that they had offered to assist in the police investigation, but the police had refused, and that they had also approached ASB members about removing Cindy from the village, but the ASB members had said that that was impossible. Questions were addressed to Roger Jarman concerning control. Don't we have local control? No, there are limits to your control, replied the superintendent. You can't do anything you like.

When presented with the petition, Jarman promised to look at it, but warned that he saw nothing here to warrant the transfer of these teachers. At this point Curt King, an officer on the village council and a former council president, threatened that, unless the two teachers left, Lomavik parents would remove their children from the school. David Youngren replied that these issues were not worth causing the children to suffer, and to avoid that he would agree to leave. Curt said that the promise would have to be in writing and that David would have to leave the next day. No, that's too much, objected Cullen Beyer. David cautioned that he was not speaking for Cindy, and Cindy replied wearily that she was looking for a job elsewhere anyway. Finally the village officers were placated by guarantees from David and Cindy that they would leave at the end of the school year.

Executive session ended at approximately 1 A.M., and at that point the general public, many of whom had been waiting outside in the cold for seven hours, was readmitted. "They came in madder than ever," recalled Cindy Dalzell. "I'm sitting there thinking, 'They don't even know the facts, and they want us out that badly. If that's how it is, then let's go.'" The meeting adjourned at 2 A.M., ten hours after it had begun.

A number of related events transpired in the wake of this meeting. Fearing for her physical safety, Cindy applied to Roger Jarman for immediate transfer, and on April 20th she left Lomavik to assume a position in Candle Landing for the remainder of the year. Finding it necessary to hire a certified substitute to take Cindy's place, the superintendent chose to fund this position by cancelling Lomavik's kindergarten and preschool programs -- which are discretionary programs, not required by the state -- and transferring those programs' funds into the school's budget for certified salaries. Dismayed over the outcome of the meeting and the fate of their colleagues, first Cullen Beyer, then Tom and Cara Bellinger, and then the rest of the school's certified staff resolved to resign or apply for transfer at the end of the year. One of these teachers informed the local chapter of the National Education Association (NEA) of the events in Lomavik, and the NEA in turn contacted the major regional newspaper and other media organizations. The resulting coverage provoked a flurry of published letters in the newspaper from Lomavik and elsewhere, and -- in Lomavik -- a small number of angry phone calls to Cullen and David. "But mostly people didn't have much to say about it," said Cullen. In regard to Isaac Fox, a hearing was scheduled with the superintendent in June.

In the village itself, a more pervasive suspicion of the outside world seemed to take hold. Protests concerning the cancellation of the kindergarten/preschool program were submitted to the Old Russian River district board, but this board upheld the superintendent's actions. All ASB members who held temporary or substitute positions at school resigned their seats on the board, and at a subsequent village council meeting members noted -- only with the most guarded satisfaction -- that finally the community had control over the tenure of its teachers. In May, when a state fish and game officer visited Lomavik, CB radios in the village crackled with suspicions about the visitor and urged that he be hastened out of the community. Eventually, however, Lomavik elected not to join the Yupiit Nation, though other neighboring villages did.

At the beginning of June and immediately following Cullen Beyer's departure, Allan Peverall -- who had returned from a leave-of-absence the preceding fall and had served that year in another village -- visited Lomavik. "The school itself looked great," he said. "Everything in order, everything perfectly arranged, but very dark, very quiet. It broke my heart. People were curious as to who would be their teachers next year, but of course I didn't know. I can't say there's any enthusiasm now among the district's experienced teachers for working in Lomavik. Nora Beaver said it had all been terrible timing, that people were just about to throw those petitions in the trash when Isaac lost his job. I think on the whole people seemed chastened, embarrassed, saddened, as though they'd gotten what they wanted, but weren't really sure about what they wanted after all."

APPENDIX TWO

Viewpoints of Native Community Members*

"TEACHER PUBLICITY GOOD FOR LOMAVIK, COUNCILMAN SAYS"(6)

Village traditional council vice chairman William Nuana said publicity over the Lomavik teacher controversy will be good for the village because it will insure that teachers respect Lomavik.

Nuana said that he does not believe the incident will cause Lomavik to lose teachers, although Old Russian River School District officials have told him this will be a problem.

"I don't believe that -- because everybody has to work. There will be teachers," Nuana said.

"With this publicity, I believe the villages, especially the villages around here, will have more power. Teachers who are coming in here, especially White teachers, will start respecting the village. To my understanding, the village will be helped by this publicity," Nuana said.

Nuana was asked if teachers had been disrespectful of the village in the past.

"No. They did respect us, but when there are teachers that stay in the village, they lose respect," Nuana said.

Nuana said it would be a good idea if there was some sort of limit to the number of years teachers could stay in a particular village, "but when we like a teacher, we would like to have the option to let him stay as long as he wants."

"The problem I see under Old Russian River School District is that the local advisory school board does not have authority at all. It doesn't have power. All they do is advise," Nuana said.

"This is important. One of the ASB members (said) that since we have no actual power on the local level, he was saying we should get out of Old Russian River School District. But we would have to research it further and understand it more before we got out of the school district," Nuana said.

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* We reproduce here a newspaper story from the regional newspaper with a traditional council member and several letters-to-the-editor from residents of Lomavik and nearby villages.

"AND THE DOMINOS TOPPLED"(7)

Dear Editor:

It's sad to hear about some of the things that have been in the news (I didn't hear everything and have not read the latest newspaper issue yet) about my village and school. Some very unrelated happenings led to this action. First, it was mainly one person that the village wanted out some time ago, some years ago.

Another reason was a Native resident of Lomavik who at the end of this school year would have been employed, I believe, for 10 years was terminated at the end of March. I think that was a major part of the reason for everything happening the way it did. Some people felt that this termination was unfair and some people also felt that it was handled in a way it shouldn't have been. The local Advisory School Board did not even know about the termination of this classified employee until later. And this was why some people were more determined to do what they did.

And now all because of this my innocent little girl in kindergarten has lost both her Yup'ik teacher and English teacher. For three weeks she was taught by a replacement Yup'ik teacher most of her school day. For the next two weeks after that she was taught by ALL substitute teachers. And now for the remaining three weeks of the school year she won't even be attending school! I've always been glad that my children are being taught in their Native language because my grandmother speaks and understands only Yup'ik. Even more so, since it had become a written language, I've also been pleased with the English program in our school. Two good teachers, one Yup'ik and one English teacher, have both been made to leave in undesirable ways.

In the past, a lady teacher was harassed by a local resident. It was taken care of by the Advisory School Board. This person who harassed a lady was asked to stay away from the school and away from the female teachers. Harassment has been happening in different places. Last year a teacher who used to work in another village told me she used to get harassed while in that other village. It happens to single female teachers. There are two different ways to deal with these kinds of things. That lady started living with another person. Unfortunately, this situation in Lomavik was handled in the way it was because, like I said, of one person who was involved. Maybe not just this one person, but a FEW others too.

Lomavik in many ways is a lot like any other village. There are a lot of great people in the village. Our school was one with a great reputation. It's always been my pleasure working here. Everyone has heard "It was too good to last!" I think that phrase expresses what has happened here. We have a Village Police Safety Officer now who's doing a great job and he's got a good knowledge of how things should be done. I repeat, this whole thing came about because of a few people involved. Unfortunately, this whole deal has affected a lot of innocent people.

What has been happening here reminds me of those shows where one domino gets knocked down and all the rest start getting knocked down. The people learned one Native teacher was terminated and everything else started falling down.

It's a shame Lomavik students have to suffer because of all this and working here isn't as pleasant as it used to be.

Lomavik is not the first village that has forced teachers out of the village. In fact, I think Lomavik has the most number of teachers that have stayed for several years and that in itself says a lot about our school.

(signed, a Lomavik resident)

"LOMAVIK SHOULD APOLOGIZE"(8)

Dear Editor:

I've always wanted to write to the newspaper, but never found a good reason to write. Well, I finally do now, and would like to take this time for the first time. You know everyday someone is arrested for such and such, and they are never new to us. But teacher harassment!! Boy, that is tough. I put myself in her shoes and imagine what it would be like getting phone calls, cutting off electric lights, and threatened to be killed. That is scary. To me, she should not have been ignored by the City Police and City of Lomavik. Just because she is a White lady and single doesn't mean she is the cause of this. I bet if a White male was harassing her, the male would be out and down the next day. To me, I think the people who run Lomavik should sit down, discuss what the problem is and find a solution for the problem, not just wait till something more exciting comes along. I thought the people of Lomavik had a lot of sense and show a lot of respect. Well, I guess I was wrong. I hope in the future you guys will understand what the real problem was or is. What that guy did was very wrong. I think that guy was trying to get attention, which he got, and I hope he learned what he was doing was very wrong. We've had and have teachers (single, married, it doesn't matter) living here for a long time, and that is good because they are learning about our culture. When it's time for them to move on to the next town, they will, and they sure will miss us. But the most important thing is that we lived with them as if they were one of our own. I think that Lomavik should at least apologize to the teachers.

(signed, an aide in a village school in Old Russian School District)

"IT MAY SEEM HARSH, BUT..."(9)

Dear Editor:

Many of us have heard and maybe seen the events that have happened in one of our villages recently about some teachers who were forced to leave. Although that seems a bit harsh for many people, many other villagers needed to take care of themselves first. They wanted to preserve the "family" in their community first instead of sacrificing it for a non-villager, where it was completely different here in our village. Several months ago the school administrator forced the Traditional IRA Council President and Chairman to resign, and discouraged other members from saying or doing anything on their own behalf simply by telling the Traditional Council that they'll be sued for many hundreds of thousands of dollars. It's too bad that here they seem to serve at the pleasure of the school administrator. So, although it seems unpleasant, I salute those village leaders who take care of their own first before it breaks up the traditional village "family."

It must be known by people who come to villages such as ours to make their temporary living that they do not come there or here to change the people, to control the people, to dominate the people or to take advantage of them thinking they are still ignorant.

Thank you for letting me have my say.

(name withheld, another village in the region)

APPENDIX THREE

Roger Jarman's Statement

"Cullen let me know very early on that a problem was developing down there, but then I was out sick for such a good part of the winter, January and February. I just wasn't available, and that didn't help. Shortly after I came back Cullen let me know that I needed to meet with his ASB about the situation with Cindy, and then that personnel problem came up too, with the associate teacher. I'm going to have a hearing on that later this month, but it looks to me now like everything was done properly there.

"I don't think it was right to include those other organizations in the meeting, though it was hardly Cullen's choice. The ASB should have kept control there. But it was like all the rationality and logic was already gone. You can see that in Curt's statement to the regional newspaper: 'We wanted her out before somebody got arrested.' And then his threat to pull the kids out of school -- if I could have kicked David and gotten him to hold his peace about agreeing to leave, I would have told Curt to go right ahead. Then I would have started truancy proceedings. They can't use their kids as hostages like that.

"But I do have sympathy for those people in Lomavik. There were reasons for the way they felt, but I can't say that publicly. You can't give youngsters the idea that laws don't matter. But I think in a sense everybody got a raw deal.

"What would have helped? I think it was a mistake going just to Albert Mark, and not the whole village council, in a society that seeks consensus like that. But who knows? Of course getting Cindy out very early might have avoided some trouble, but that's the wrong answer. You can't send that kind of message. It would have been nice to get with the state troopers beforehand, and ask them to please somehow confine their investigation, though I suppose you can't tell them how to do their job.

"But teachers have got to get over this idea that being in this one particular village is their be-all and end-all. You're not going to be an integral part of the community, no matter what, and if you get into this thing of saying, 'I'm in this village, and this is where I live, and you're not going to move me, no matter what,' then you're buying yourself grief. And you can't live your own lifestyle in the villages. Like with Cindy, you don't get all these guys hitting on you unless the message is out, and of course that's not the message we get from Cindy, if we look at her lifestyle, but it's the message those guys get.

"I wonder -- did anyone ever tell this kid that what he did was wrong? I do wonder about that sometimes. And of course that sovereignty thing coming through at just this particular time didn't help. They're just drawing in a circle now, like musk ox, against the outside world. I suppose that's what they've always had to do in order to survive."

APPENDIX FOUR

Allan Peverall's Statement

"Things already were very different in Lomavik from the time I was there. Of course Joe King was gone, and the ASB just didn't seem to have the same credibility as a community voice. The village council was under new leadership, and the pastor was new, and so was the safety officer. The Yupiit Nation was coming through. And we had a teacher here who genuinely feared for her life, who needed help very quickly, and we didn't know who was making the phone calls. At least when Nick Ayaluk was around, we could depend on him to be the guilty one. Now we had this faceless midnight rambler.

"Maybe ultimately the question is one of control. The school played just as large a role as it could in the maintenance of Yup'ik traditional culture, but of course we all worked for the state, and essentially the school was an arm of the outside world. With all its state and federal programs and its different funds and its professional personnel with their union-approved contracts, the school is sort of like a gear hitched into the big driving wheels of society, and you hope that the teeth of this gear can match up with the little wheel that is this tiny village, and you hope everything can turn in the same direction at a mutually agreeable speed. But you're dealing with people who are used to being completely independent, who've always had 100 percent of the say about how the wheel turns in their village, and they're seeing this independence start to slip away as they become more and more linked up with the Outside. And they're starting to feel defensive about it. So the wheels are starting to squeak and grind.

"It might have helped here, maybe, if people just knew what was going on. But even in the best of circumstances, it seems like it's so hard to get information spread thoroughly -- and accurately -- through a Yup'ik village. I remember if we had a job opening at school, we used to inform ASB members, post notices at the post office, the village stores, the community hall, and the city office, and then do a series of announcements over the CB. And <u>still</u> people would complain to me afterwards that they never knew about the opening. And it's just like that in Lomavik now -- there are people who still don't know what the hell was going on with the police investigation. Of course accurate information became an impossibility as soon as the police arrived with the gag order, not letting Cindy talk to anybody else about what her problem was or what the police were doing. I understand about that: The cops wanted to catch the crook. But Cindy just wanted to solve the problem, and their investigation became part of the problem.

"If I'd been there, I might have gone after the suspects first myself. Bobby George was the only one busted, but I hear there were some others involved, Matthew Alexie included, earlier on. I wonder if they knew they were breaking the law, and what the consequences might be. I

would have chased down whoever Cindy thought was responsible, and they would have denied any involvement, but they would have listened to my speech anyway, and if I really was talking to the wrong people, then a word might have circulated through them to the right ones. And that might have stopped it. Matthew and Bobby and some of those others, they were former students of mine, I'd coached them in basketball, and since then we'd steamed and hunted and -- you know -- shared parts of a life together. I had some influence with them, and I might have had a better shot of success at that than Cullen, who was still relatively new.

"If that didn't work? Then you've got to at least touch base with some of the other local options. The village council was a good idea, but the clarity of hindsight indicates that you've got to approach them in a formal meeting. And then whatever you say is recorded in the minutes and is a matter of public record, which would have been good. The ASB should have been told, partly because they'd helped with harassment cases in the past, though then they knew who they were dealing with. And maybe talk to the pastor too, or the whole council of elders. Sometimes they know things that those other guys don't, and sometimes they can pull strings that those other organizations don't have access to. There are two reasons for this: First, this is a way of informing at least the most influential people that there is this problem, and if we don't stuff this guy here, then the state police would be the next step. And second, it might even work, and the calls might stop.

"But I don't know. Who really knows? All that's going to take more time, and how is Cindy -- or any of us -- to know how much time she has? And there were all those other things mixed up. What a terrible time for Isaac to get drunk again, if that's what happened. I might have tried to get his resignation, assuming that he just wasn't getting his job done any more, but if Isaac didn't want to cooperate, I guess I'd have had to terminate, and then just ride out the storm, or pack my bags. I certainly wouldn't have asked the ASB about it. The blood's just too thick there, and I think in time the Yupiit Nation school district is going to have real problems that way, if it stays as small as it is. But there again, you have an information problem. I'm not comfortable telling other people why I've fired somebody, and then the only side of the story that gets heard is Isaac's.

"And what do you do about poor David? Certainly he should have left earlier, but I'm not going to tell him to leave. Besides lacking any official grounds for transfer, David's my friend, and the supervisor he busts his butt for, and if I jump on that get-him-outta-the-village bandwagon, that's going to just put a knife in his heart. That's another kind of thick blood, I guess. You can see just in that how our feelings complicate the way we see things, and what we do."

Footnotes

1. [Regional Newspaper], May 22, 1986, p. 28.

2. Henry N. Michael, ed., Lieutenant Zagoskin's Travels in Russian America, 1842-1844. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 106.

3. Jean Briggs, Never In Anger. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 353.

4. [Regional Newspaper], October 25, 1984, p. 1.

5. [Regional Newspaper], July 12, 1984, p. 13.

6. [Regional Newspaper], April 4, 1986, p. 27.

7. [Regional Newspaper], May 8, 1986, p. 2, 34.

8. [Regional Newspaper], May 22, 1986, p. 28.

9. [Regional Newspaper], May 22, 1986, p. 28.